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2/17/20

LETTERS

TO

A PREBENDARY:

BEING

AN ANSWER TO

REFLECTIONS ON POPERY,

BY THE

REV. J. STURGES, LL. D.

Prebendary and Chancellor of Winchester, and Chaplain to his Majesty.

WITH REMARKS ON THE OPPOSITION OF

HOADLYISM

TO THE

DOCTRINES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

BY THE

R. REV. JOHN MILNER, D. D.

BISHOP OF CASTALBA V. A. F. S. A. LOND. AND CATH. ACAD. ROME.

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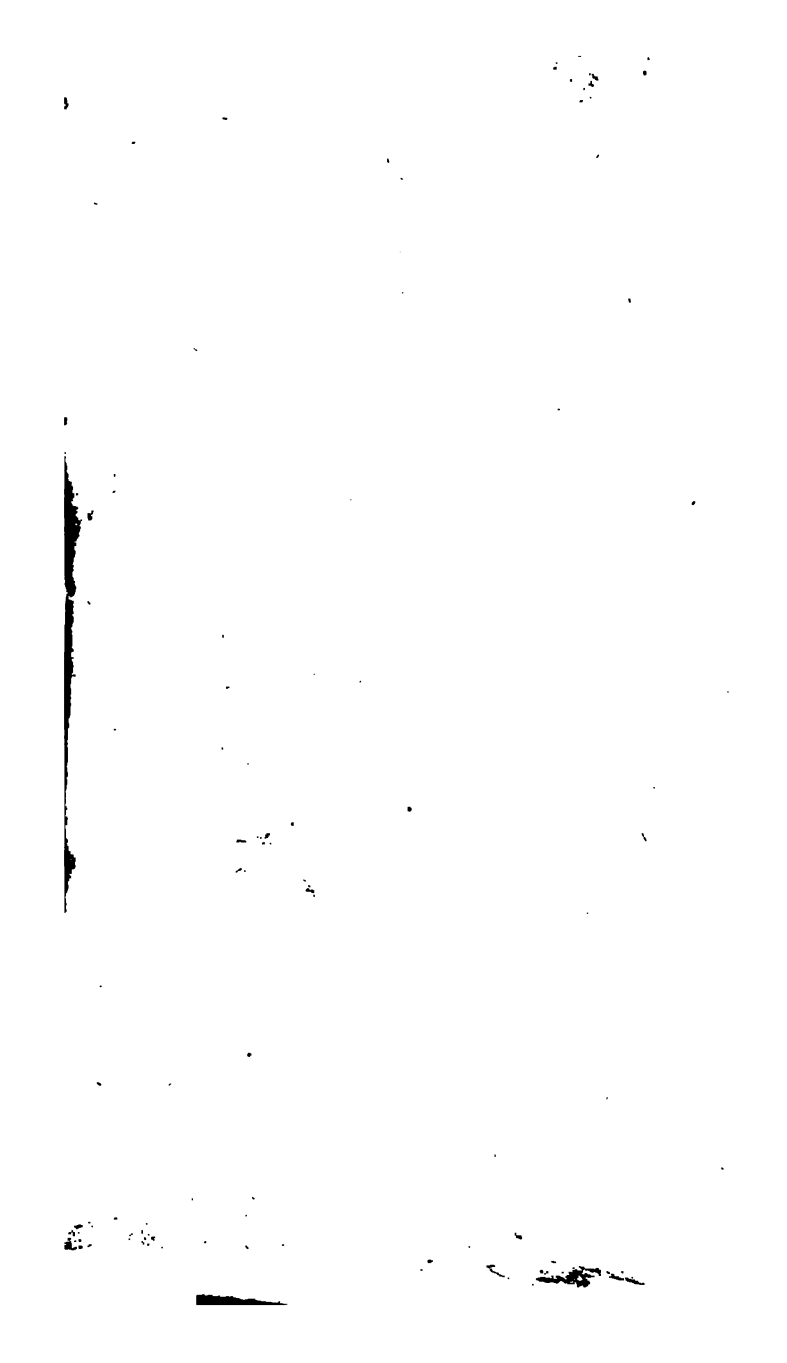
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PREFACE

TO THE
FOURTH EDITION.

AS I am not accountable for the commencement, so neither am I for the continuance of the controversy, of which the following letters form part. I wrote the history of the city in which I reside, as connected with the general history of England, in order to supply an acknowledged literary deficiency, and to disabuse the public of the most egregious errors and fables that had been palmed upon it in all the preceding publications on the same subject.* This work was admitted, even by its professed enemies, to have answered its intended design, and to have brought to light a fund of hidden information relative to former times ; but the same persons complained that it presented details too favourable to the religion of our ancestors, and that it exhibited the alterations which took place in this respect between two and three centuries ago, in disagreeable colours. If this were the case, it was no fault of mine. I was an historian, not an orator ; as such it was my duty to represent facts in their true light. For this purpose I drew my narrative from the most authentic and uncontroverted sources, and these I every where distinctly pointed out, for the conviction of those readers who might be disposed to question its veracity.

* See Preface to vol. i, of THE HISTORY CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL AND SURVEY OF THE ANTIQUITIES OF WINCHESTER. By the R. Rev. J. Milner, D. D. &c.

After an interval of some months from the publications of the said work, a professed answer to it, from the most celebrated pen in this vicinity, was announced to the public. Upon examination, however, it was found to be just as much an answer to the *Annals of Baronius*, or to *Bossuet's Universal History*, as to my **HISTORY AND SURVEY OF WINCHESTER**. Scarce a dozen articles in the two quarto volumes of which it consists, and those comparatively of small importance, are so much as mentioned by my opponent. The substance of his work is made up of a general misrepresentation of the doctrine and conduct of the Catholics, and this for the avowed purpose, as appears by the very title page, of proving that the religion of the *Alfreds* and the *Wykehams* is inimical to "civil society and government, especially to that of this kingdom." Thus was the foundation of a real and a serious controversy laid down, and what is most extraordinary, by a person who professed "the greatest dislike to such contests, and the most ardent desire of uniting all Christians in the defence of their common cause ;" * for it was impossible that the Catholics should sit down quietly under charges of this nature, especially when brought by so respectable an adversary as Dr. S. ; they owed it to the state and to their fellow subjects, no less than to themselves, to repel them ; and it was natural for me who had been the innocent cause of their being brought, to stand forward for this purpose.†

In the execution of this task I have pursued a very different plan from that of Dr. S. I have not amused my reader or myself with fanciful theory, vague declamation, or desultory invective ; but I have made it my business to follow my adversary, step by step, wherever he has been pleased to lead me, attentively discussing his facts, and his reasoning on every question of the

* See **REFLECTIONS ON POPERY**, 2d. ed. pp. 4, 6.

† See the account of Dr. S.'s work in the *Anti-Jacobin Review*, in which it is candidly confessed that the *History of Winchester* furnished no just ground for the *Reflections on Popery*.

least importance, so as to enable the reader to form a judgment of the contents of his performance by reading mine. In fact, this method alone corresponds with my idea of *answering* a literary work of any kind.— Here I had reason to expect the controversy would have ceased, or at least that it would have drawn near to a conclusion, by my opponent's being forced to observe the line of regular argumentation which I had traced out for him. In short, I promised myself, after what had passed, that he would not venture upon another publication against me, unless he should feel himself enabled to support his charges in a more conclusive manner than he had hitherto done. In this expectation, however, I have found myself mistaken. He has chosen to continue the contest with the same weapons which have already failed him. He gives a second edition of a work, which has been refuted in all its parts. He continues to bring the most weighty accusations against a numerous body of his fellow subjects, which have been demonstrated to be false and calumnious in the face of the public. It is true he has entered into a few trifling chronological, or other unimportant discussions, which, if they be not in their turn answered, may be considered by some readers, according to the wishes which he intimates, as "referring to those particulars of my publication that are most deserving of notice."* He has also by way of diverting the contest, thought proper to make a very violent personal attack upon me for my conduct in a transaction that is totally foreign to the present controversy; and in order to disarm the resentment of the Catholic body at large which he has provoked, he attempts to persuade them that in vilifying their religion and their ancestors, he is not combating them, but only me.† I must take this opportunity of mentioning that another gentleman besides Dr. S. who is also a prebendary of Winchester cathedral, has lately drawn his pen against me on the occasion of my History, in a sort of Annual Register, of which he is the

* See Advertisement to Reflect. p. 5.

† Ibid, p. 7. also Append. p. 525, 526.

author, called **THE HAMPSHIRE REPOSITORY**, and that he has so far forgotten himself as to descend to downright scurrility against me.*

In the circumstances above stated, I trust that those respectable personages who have been the most urgent with me to discontinue the present controversy, will excuse my giving a second edition of the **LETTERS TO A PREBENDARY**. I must add for their information, that it is not in my power to prevent a new edition taking place. The former impression is sold to a single copy, and the demand for the work both in England and in Ireland is very great.—Hence it will not appear extraordinary, that a printed Prospectus of a new edition of it should have been circulated without my knowledge. In short, I am well assured that if I do not agree to reprint the work correctly under my own eye, it will be reprinted without my agreement, and probably incorrectly, at a distance from me.

At the present time both my adversaries have taken a formal leave of me. Now though I cannot object to this determination of theirs, yet I cannot avoid making a few remarks on the motives which one of them, Dr. S. assigns for it on his part. He says, that “a farther controversy would not produce conviction on either of the parties.”† This declaration, I think, is a bad specimen of the pure and ardent zeal for religious truth, which ought to characterize christian divines of every denomination. What can the public judge from such a speech but that either the persons who utter it are not possessed of this zeal, or else that Christ has left his saving truths wrapped up in such impenetrable darkness, that even men of good will, with every advantage for investigating them, are incapable of discovering them? He farther alledges, that we two, viz. Dr. S. and myself, “are hardly enough agreed upon common principles to be qualified to reason together.”‡ If this be really so, he ought to have re-

* See Supplem. to the present work, p. 539, 540, note.

† Advertisem. p. 5.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 6.

flected upon the circumstances before he challenged me at all to the controversy. The truth however is : I believe in every tittle of the Holy Scriptures, in the three Creeds, and in the other fundamental doctrines of the church of England contained in her two first Articles. I also admit the axioms and demonstrations of Euclid, the physics of Newton, the Metaphysics of Locke, the logic of Aristotle and Watts, &c. In case the learned gentlemen agree with me in these particulars, and more especially if he admit, as much as I do, of the fundamental doctrine and discipline of the established church, it will soon appear, that we have common principles enough, not only to reason upon, with respect to all the points at issue between us, but also to bring them to a speedy termination.

My antagonist concludes his Advertisement with the most severe sarcasms upon me, and with as extravagant compliments to himself, in consequence of the censures which I have passed in the course of my work upon different writers of celebrity, whose names he enumerates, no less than upon him, for the respective faults which they are known to have been guilty of.* The fact is, as I do not accuse him of copying all the several defects of these eminent men, so neither do I suppose him to have attained to their peculiar excellencies. In a few words, If I condemn father Paul, it is not for his learning, but for his hypocrisy : if I find fault with Locke, it is not for his metaphysics, but for his politics : if I dislike Tillotson, it is not for his eloquence, but for his misrepresentations : if I censure Clarke, it is not for his writings on natural but for those on revealed religion : if I blame Hoadly, it is not for his talents, natural or acquired, but for his latitudinarianism : finally, if I abandon our common acquaintance, Dr. Balguy, it is not for his unrivalled precision of thought and perspicuity of language, but for his downright socinianism.

Before I conclude this article, it will perhaps be expected that I should say something of the notice which

* Ibid. p. 7.

is said to have been taken of the present controversy by personages of the first rank and consequence in the kingdom, and that on the most important and solemn occasion. It has been reported that my opponent has been complimented by the high authority alluded to, with having "written in a gentleman-like style," and that I have been blamed for the alleged "asperity of my language:" at the same time that I am allowed to have proved myself "a well informed individual," which I interpret to imply that I have at least written like a scholar. Whilst I bow with due respect to this dignified criticism, I cannot help suspecting that the noble author of it* had not, when he pronounced it, met with certain passages in my adversary's pages of a much more injurious nature to the Catholic body at large as well as to myself, than any which can be produced from my book against him† At all events, I conclude that this noble personage had not observed those unconstitutional doctrines into which my opponent has unwarily slipped,‡ and those heterodox opinions which he so perseveringly maintains.§ With respect to the latter, I must once more remark, what I have elsewhere more fully demonstrated,** that these are not moot points for theological debate, but the very groundwork and quintessence of Christianity, on which neither the established church nor the law admits of any exception or compromise whatsoever.††—To render this matter more clear, I shall barely observe, that if the system which I have detected and combated in my letter upon Hoadlyism be false, then the adherents of it are guilty of an impiety, which the first protestant archdeacon of Winchester defines to be no

* See the speech of the Lord Chancellor Loughborough, in the House of Lords, July 10, 1800.

† See the passages quoted in the present work at pp. 8, 10, 25. 327.

‡ See pp. 380, 381, 382, 383, 390, also the passage quoted above in the present Preface.

§ See pp. 429, 430, 431, 433, &c. 448, 469, 511, 512.

** See the whole Letter No. VIII, on HOADLYISM, and more particularly the POSTSCRIPT to it.

†† Ibid.

less than "attempting to tear the eternal Son of God from the throne of his deity :"* and that if on the other hand, this system be true, then the church of England, no less than that which I adhere to, daily teaches and practises rank idolatry,

I have now only to mention the alterations which have taken place in this second edition of **LETTERS TO A PREBENDARY**. An endeavour has been made throughout the whole of them to amend the language, and, in some instances, to render the argumentation more perspicuous. The context is illustrated with many additional notes, and a Postscript is added to each letter, in answer to the new matter contained in my adversary's late edition of **REFLECTIONS**, and also by way of summing up the evidence on each leading point that has been contested between us. There is also a **SUPPLEMENT** in answer to the personal charges which Dr. S. has brought against me in the Supplement of his aforesaid new edition. To distinguish these additions, they are in general placed between crotchets. On the other hand, to keep both the work itself and the price of it within as narrow bounds as possible, the **APPENDIX**, which occurred in the former edition, is omitted in this. In fact, the subject of it appears foreign to the present letters, consisting entirely of answers to the several criticisms of different writers on the **HISTORY AND SURVEY OF WINCHESTER**. As such it seems more proper to annex the said **APPENDIX** to the **HISTORY** itself, together with answers to later strictures on the same subject,† whenever another edition of that work shall take place.

* See Archdeacon Philpott's *Invective against Arianism*, pp. 509, 510.

† Viz. those in the *Monthly Review*, the *Anti-Jacobin Review*, the *British Critic*, and the *Critical Review*. Though most of these publications betray some degree of that prejudice against the *History of Winchester*, which it has been the business of Dr. S. to excite, yet the authors of them all treat it with decency and even with respect, except a certain writer in the work which is last mentioned, who by the bitterness and even fury of his language proves himself to be a party concerned in the present controversy: *Hæret lateri lethalis arundo*. It

is more than probable that he will have his answer in due time, and that his ignorance in the line of antiquities will be demonstrated to the public. In the interim I cannot help observing that it is the duty of the conductors of periodical works to prevent their becoming vehicles of private resentment.

N. B. The references to the pages of **THE REFLECTIONS ON POPERY**, which occur in the following letters relate to the first or quarto edition, except where the new or octavo edition is expressly mentioned.



LETTERS

TO A

PREBENDARY.

LETTER I.

SIR,

HOW is it possible that professing, as in all sincerity I do, the same principles of conciliation and charity, together with the same zeal for the maintenance of civil order and the general interests of Christianity, which you so eloquently display, we too should find ourselves opposed to each other in the characters of rival controvertists? How, in particular, should so unfortunat an event, as I am bound to consider it, have arisen from the publication of my History,* which, amongst other ends, was certainly intended to promote those important objects.

It is true, Sir, when first I took up my pen to record the succeeding events of two thousand years, and to elucidate the great variety of obscure and doubtful matter, which presented itself in this research, I was aware that I could not do justice to my readers, or to myself, without representing many points of history, chronology, topography, architecture, and religion, in different lights from those in which they have been exhibited by several other writers, and without combating many deep-rooted prejudices of the present day. Hence I expect to incur the odium, and to meet with the opposition of the ignorant and bigoted, that is to

* THE HISTORY CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL, AND SURVEY OF THE ANTIQUITIES OF WINCHESTER, in two vols. 4to.

say, of those persons who were either unable or unwilling to investigate the arguments on which I had founded my opinions. But what encouraged me, on the other hand, was the hopes of experiencing the approbation and support of that small, but enlightened and liberal class of men, in which I had ever considered my present antagonist as holding a high rank. As I was myself conscious of a disposition to renounce my own errors and prejudices, and a strong desire of discovering and exhibiting the truth on every question that fell within the grasp of my abilities and industry, so I ascribed the same inclination to all persons of that description ; and I took it for granted, that amongst them at least I should meet with a candid hearing and a liberal commendation for every real discovery I should make, of whatever nature that might be, or to whatever conclusions it might lead.

With these ideas, how great must have been my disappointment at the time of publication, to find my laborious and not unsuccessful efforts in rescuing the history of this venerable city from the mists of fable and uncertainty with which it had heretofore been surrounded, and in adding to the general mass of historical and antiquarian knowledge, received with ungracious coolness, studiously misrepresented, and without mercy condemned to oblivion and the flames, on account of half a dozen lines in each volume, censuring the system of a late popular bishop of this see : which system after all is seen, by the best friends both of church and state, in the same light as by myself ! How great, in particular, must have been my mortification, when it having been found impossible to stifle my production, and when the most distinguished literary character in the city and neighbourhood of Winchester had undertaken to answer it, I observed that this was attempted, not by disproving my facts, by confuting my arguments, by invalidating my authorities, or by opposing others to them, but by ill-natured and groundless interpretations of my views in writing my history, and by common place topics of misrepresentation and calumny against the religion of our ancestors

under the illiberal and abusive term of Popery ;* such as have been a thousand times urged, and a thousand times refuted.†

After all that has been said on the subject of these volumes by yourself, Sir, and your fellow writers, in print, and by many other persons of more zeal than prudence, from mere heresay, in conversation, they will appear, upon examination, to be historical, not controversial compositions, and to consist of antiquarian researches, rather than of theological dissertations. They are accordingly read and commended for the information which they are supposed to contain, by many sincere as well as learned protestants throughout the kingdom, and they were not less praised by others of that description in this neighbourhood, until Dr. S. sounded the trumpet of religious alarm against them. The fact is, having undertaken to write an account of this city, as connected with the general history of the island, from its earliest records down to modern times, for the express purpose of illustrating the obscurities, and of dissipating the errors of many former writers, I have

* The term of *Catholic* or *Roman Catholic* being now sanctioned by law, (see the preamble to the act of 31 Geo. III. c. 32) as well as by common usage, it is a mark of illiberality and bigotry to denote the religion in question by the term of *Popery*, and the professors of it by those of *Papists*, *Romanists*, &c.—which words were invented in the time of persecution, to serve as a cloak for the exercise of it. It has been remarked of a former work of Dr. S. (*Considerations on the present State of the Church Establishment*) that he every where calls the professors of the ancient religion *Papists*, except where he says, “The English clergy succeed the Roman Catholic clergy of this country in part of their possessions.” P. 108. Catholics are in this point more liberal. They do not, either in writing or conversation, apply invidious terms to their countrymen of a different communion, but rather such as the latter themselves choose to be denoted by.

† Dr. S. has presented us with a list of controvertists on his side of the question, p. 97, 4to. ed. In opposition to these names I have no difficulty in placing those of Stapleton, Parsons, Howarden, Manning, Gother, and Challoner, as controversial writers who were inferior to the former in no respect, except that their works are not so generally known.

omitted no opportunity of attempting this, on any curious or interesting subject whatsoever that has occurred to me during the several periods of the British, the Roman, the Saxon, the Danish, the Norman, and the English dominations. In case I have enlarged more upon certain periods than I have upon others, and have more frequently entered into ecclesiastical disquisitions than into such as are merely literal or political, the reason is, because more obscurity and greater errors seemed to prevail with respect to these than to other periods and subjects.

I was conscious, during the whole time I held my pen, that I was amenable for whatever I should advance, not only to the civil state, but also to the republic of letters. Hence, Sir, I do not complain of the attack which you have made upon my late work, or of the quarter on which you have made it, (these being matters of your own option) but only of the manner in which you have conducted it. If, for example, you were disgusted with the effulgence of piety and other virtues, with which I have invested the characters of our religious ancestors, particularly of our primitive bishops and other saints, ought not you to have shown that I did wrong in following the descriptions of those original authors, whom I have every where referred to, and who wrote many ages before our present controversies unfortunately began, rather than those of modern writers, who can know nothing of these matters but what they borrow from the former, and who are mostly parties in these disputes. If you really believe that I have "vilified, abused, and misrepresented the Reformation, and the persons who distinguished themselves in its favour," ought not you to have proved that the most celebrated advocates of that cause, a Fox, a Heylin, a Strype, a Burnet, and a Collier, whose public testimony I have every where appealed to, have betrayed it in their professed apologies, or that I myself have misquoted or misrepresented them? If congeniality of principle or gratitude makes you tremblingly anxious for the reputation

of that prelate,* whose penetration first discerned the opening powers of mind, which now, in their full maturity, are directed against me, ought not you, Sir, by a fair exposition of his theological and political system, to have demonstrated that it contains nothing injurious either to the established church or the constitution? Instead of this meeting me hand to hand, and foot to foot, like a fair and generous adversary, you turn your back on the field of battle, and Parthian-like, shoot behind you the random shafts of declamation and calumny. You bring forward every odious crime, or imputation of crime that has been raked together from the general history of the church during a great number of centuries, by way of answering a connected and authenticated history of this city and country, and you recommend, by your constant advertisements in the newspapers, that the two works should be bound up together; fancying that you will then have refuted *The History and Survey of Winchester*, when you shall have excited the public indignation against the religion of its author. In a word, without moderation or decency, and without any exception in favour of the Gregories, the Augustines, the Birinus's, the Swithuns, the Bedes, the Walkelins, the Wykehams, the Egberts, the Alfreds, the Edgars, and the Edwards, that is to say, of those persons to whom you yourself are indebted for all your comforts in this world, and all your prospects of happiness in the next, you conclude your reflections on Popery with denouncing the professors of it as men, who systematically during many ages made Religion "the instrument of their own interest and ambition; who adapted all their principles and institutions† to this object; who adopted all means, even the most vio-

* Bishop Hoadley.

† To enable Dr. S. to see the inconsistency and dangerous lengths into which his zeal against Popery betrays him, it will be sufficient to remind him, that amongst other institutions of the religion in question, all of which he indiscriminately condemns, are deans and chapters, surplices and organs, parishes and tythes, colleges and universities, the substance of the common prayer book, &c.

lent and cruel to obtain and preserve it, and who were many of them a disgrace not only to our religion, but to our nature.”*

It was in vain to expect a candid treatment for myself individually, when you were so unjust to the whole church of which I am a member, and which has so many fair titles to your respect and gratitude. Accordingly, though in certain passages of your Reflections, you compliment me as a writer and an antiquary, yet in others you bring the most odious, no less than groundless accusations against me. In particular you charge me with wishing to make “Great Britain and Britons tributary to the Pope, and subject to his temporal power;”† and with desiring to “have the clergy independent of the civil power, and not amenable to its jurisdiction.”‡ You adopt the wanton and lawless abuse which the most malignant of satirists has invented against me, in common with many other more respectable characters.§ Finally, you hold

* P. 112, 4to. ed.

† P. 14, 15.

‡ P. 15.

§ “Our author, Mr. Milner, receives from the satirist some very severe, but not unmerited strokes for the intemperance of his zeal in a former publication.” P. 4. note 2. Dr. S. having in this passage sanctioned the virulent passage alluded to, in *The Pursuits of Literature*, part IV, note on verse 195, I think it incumbent on me now to take that notice of it which I refused to do whilst it belonged only to an anonymous libeller.— But first I ought to explain by what means I became honoured with a share in the abuse of this modern Menippus. The note-writer then, who is a distinct person from the versifier, having on a sudden transformed his notorious partiality for the French emigrant clergy and their religion, into as declared a hatred for them; and adopted in their regard the well known motto of Luther, *Pestis ero vivens*, Purs. part. IV. v. 190, thought proper to publish his change of sentiments in a long note to verse 131, part III, which, that it might not escape my notice, he sent to me separately printed, in a letter by the post from Lond. In this note he threatened, that if his mandate for the immediate removal of the F. clergy from the K’s. House was not instantly complied with on the part of ministry, he would “maintain the same more solemnly and more at large.” Accordingly very soon after appeared the printed *Letter to the Marquis of Buckingham*, in which the writer amongst many other falsehoods, as-

INTRODUCTION.

me out to the notice of his majesty's attorney general,

serted one of so scandalous and inflammatory a nature, that I thought it incumbent upon me publickly to contradict it in my own name. This I did in the most positive terms, and with certain important hints to the writer himself, which he could not misunderstand, in the Gentleman's Magazine. See appendix for 1796, p. 1077. In the number for May of the same year, p. 373, may be seen a letter from Dr. Sturges to Mr. Wilmot, in which that calumny, amongst many others, is also refuted. It was impossible for the note-writer to justify his falsehood, but, as I foretold, he attempted to be revenged upon me for detecting it, in part IV of his *Pursuits*, (see v. 190, note) which appeared soon after.

Let us now attend to the passage in question, the severity of which Dr. S. asserts I have merited. The note-writer then, having in four different forms of speech endeavoured to elude my hints, and to remove the suspicion of his having the smallest knowledge of me, or even of my place of abode, (though he knew exceedingly well how to direct to me the former part of his pursuits, mentioned above, and had received an answer to it in my name from this city, by the Magazine) proceeds to "call the public notice" to a pamphlet which I had formerly written, "for the virulence of its spirit, its extremity of fierceness, its intollerant principles, and its deliberate application of them." This pamphlet, the title of which is *A Reply to the Report of the Cisalpine Club*, relates solely to a private dispute amongst Catholics themselves, concerning the authenticity of a certain deed in the British Museum, and consists entirely of diplomatic criticism. It was so very uninteresting to the public, that it was in a manner stifled in its birth, and hardly a copy of it got into the hands of any Protestant, except the note-writer, to whom I myself made a present of it. But let us hear in what manner this brain-sick writer makes out, from the words of the pamphlet, "its virulence and fierceness." They are these: *It is apprehended*, says the pamphlet, p. 36, *that the publication of the facts in question might prove detrimental to the Catholic interest on any future application to the legislature.* Who would not suppose from the expressions of the note-writer, that the Catholics were meditating on the means of murdering their fellow-subjects and overturning the state, instead of presenting a respectful petition to be employed in defending them, which was actually the case? We will now see how he substantiates his other charge, viz. "my deliberate application of intollerant principles.....and thirsting for the blood of innocent victims." My terms were these, speaking of a certain form of words, which had been put into my mouth by other persons: *Thus to my judgment am I, and the whole Catholic body, without our consenting to it, pledged in the face of the legislature to condemn*

as a person deserving of prosecution,* on a frivolous charge, which, as I shall shew, you yourself have incurred in a greater degree than I have.

This being the plain case, is it not ridiculous, Sir, to hear you professing so emphatically, as you do more than once, your utter dislike of religious controversy, and filling whole pages with arguments against it?—There was not the shadow of an existing controversy, when you thought proper to attack me, and the religion which I profess, in the violent and unwarranted manner that I have stated. Such a controversy, how-

the wars of Charlemagne, (I might have added some of those of Alfred) and the crusade against the infamous Albigenes, p. 28. I shall have occasion to explain my ideas concerning the Albigenes in the course of this work; in the mean time it is proper the uninformed reader should know, that the blood which I am accused of thirsting after, was shed, part of it 600, and part of it 1000 years ago. Whether I am more eager or this avowed *Pest of Papists* for living victims of persecution, the reader will judge.

It will be observed that I speak of the note-writer in the Pursuits of Literature as of a person well known to me. In fact I believe the unimportant question, concerning the name of this libeller is less a secret at Winchester than in most other places. Dr. S. and most literary men resident here, no less than myself, must have traced in a living character, most of the literary and moral features of the writer under consideration, an insatiable thirst for knowledge of every kind, an unwearied application to study, a vast memory, a lively imagination, an overpowering fluency and energy of language; on the other hand, a strange deficiency of judgment, the most whimsical caprice, the most violent prejudices, a boundless liberty of satire, a disgusting pedantry, a flaming zeal for the reformation of every one except of himself, and a kind of prurient modesty, more odious to virtue than the language of libertines. Dr. S. must have remarked in the conversation of that individual all and every one of the prejudices for, and against certain literary and political characters, and have heard most of the sentiments expressed in the same terms, together with a number of standing jests and favourite quaintnesses and stories, that he reads in the aforesaid notes. He knows also, that the person alluded to has an intimate friend of sufficient poetical merit to have composed the verses, which have been pleasantly called *pegs to hang the notes upon.*

* P. 91.

ever, in the existing circumstances, you have rendered unavoidable. Honour, injured innocence, the truth of history, the respect and allegiance which I owe to my king and country, all oblige me to repel your charges, and to make use of every fair weapon that history and argument furnish me with for this purpose. Should the production of any of these give offense to you, or to any other person, I shall be sorry for it, but the blame must evidently rest with yourself. It is true, you describe me as the aggressor in this contest; but the futility of such a pretext is evidently seen in what has been already said. Indeed, it is the constant practice of persons in a state of hostility, of whatever description, to aim at fixing on each other the odium of the first assault. Thus the present disturbers of the universe tell us in their manifestoes, that it was only by way of repelling injuries, and of defending themselves, they have invaded and oppressed so many other powers, allies and friends, no less than rivals and enemies.

Notwithstanding the state of this matter is exactly as I have represented it, yet, Sir, if I must tell you the whole of my mind, I do not think that I ought to entertain that absolute and unqualified dislike to every kind of religious controversy which you profess. If the different communions of Christians are not to discuss the subjects and the foundations of their unhappy divisions, how are these ever to be terminated?—The divine author of Christianity employed a great proportion of his public lessons in refuting the errors of the scribes and pharisees. The apostles and ancient fathers were also indefatigable in labouring to convert the heretics and schismatics of their respective times. This they performed without any breach of charity; on the contrary, such zeal was the greatest proof of their being possessed of it. It is true, that controvertists of later times have too often manifested a contrary spirit, and have defended their respective modes and rules of faith in such manner as to prove themselves utterly destitute of the aforesaid

more sublime and excellent virtue, making religion a mere party distinction, a business of this world, rather than of the next, and being more anxious to gain credit to themselves, by confounding their adversaries, than to discover the truth upon the most important of all questions. But these faults, however incident to the discussion of religious questions, are by no means inseparable from them. What then should hinder you and me, Sir, since we must contend together, from avoiding them, and thereby precluding a common objection of infidels. In the present stage of our controversy, this indeed will appear more difficult from the nature of the objections, which you have brought against me. For now I must necessarily follow wherever you are pleased to lead me. But should I have occasion to make another reply to you, I will try if it be not possible to put the whole question at issue between us, into such a shape as shall remove the danger of irritation on both sides, and still enable us, if we are mutually so disposed, to agree together in the acknowledgment of the same religious truths.

After all, Sir, you acknowledge that "there are times when religious controversy is necessary;"* but by your restriction of this to the periods of the Reformation and the Revolution,† and by your practice and reasoning on the present subject, it is plainly your meaning, that you ought to be left at liberty to make use of this weapon, whenever it suits your ends, and even for the purpose of attack, but that no one else ought to be permitted to take it up against you, even in his own defence. You accordingly proceed to state, with much greater eloquence than consistency of argument, several considerations, the tendency of which, in my opinion, is to deter me from giving an answer to your book of Reflections. The two first of these, grounded on the detriment you think charity on one hand, and the common cause of Christianity on the other, may receive from discussing religious dif-

* P. 2.

† *ibid.*

ferences,* it is for you, Sir, to answer, who have set on foot this discussion, and have on most points calumniated the religion of your pious ancestors ; whereas the chief fault which you yourself find with me is, that my History presents it in too favourable a light, and thereby tends to appease the common prejudices and acrimony against it.

A third reflection, which you adduce for the same purpose, seems to be equally misapplied, where having mentioned the "war that has been declared against the Catholic religion, by the unprincipled governors of France," as likewise the degraded state of the Roman pontiff, and the character of the English people and government, you conclude, "that no time is more unfavourable than the present for the success of the religion in question in every part of the world." † How this reasoning tends to appease your jealousy on the score of that religion, I can readily see ; but how it militates against my wiping off the aspersions that are thrown upon it, I cannot understand.

A fourth argument you draw from the situation of the French emigrant clergy, ‡ whose deep-felt obligation to the hospitality and bounty of this country, and to yourself, Sir, amongst their more generous friends, is not lessened by the accidental concurrence with them of the maxims of sound policy. § On this head,

* P. 3.

† P. 108.

‡ P. 54.

§ I do not mean to depreciate, in the smallest degree, the generosity of my countrymen to these victims of anti-christian tyranny. It proceeded from a sudden impulse of pity and virtuous indignation, before reflection had leisure to calculate consequences. Still, however, it is true, and even the envenomed writer of the *Pursuits* is forced to allow, that self-preservation has concurred with more noble motives to direct the measures of government, particularly with respect to the priests. It is confessed, that the grand obstacle to a peace with France does not arise so much from the difficulty of settling the terms, as of ensuring the continuation of it, and the idea of having an Algiers at Calais has alarmed more politicians than Mr. Burke. It is equally obvious, that the only effectual remedy for this evil would be the re-establishment of Christianity in that coun-

I must first remark, that the condition of us native Catholics is very different from that of the emigrants in question. We are in our own country, Englishmen by birth and principle, the descendents of the men who founded the constitution of this kingdom, which constitution we ourselves endeavour to support in our respective stations, to the utmost of our power. In the very article of religion, the only one in which we differ from our countrymen, we are not persons who have introduced a new system; on the contrary, we barely maintain that of our Saxon progenitors, as it was, according to the acknowledgment of all parties, established by our Apostles with the Christian name itself, at the close of the sixth century.* If then, in refuting your heavy charges brought against me, if in proving myself to be a good member of society and a true Englishman, notwithstanding the difference of my religious creed, I should happen to say any thing that may give you offence, I am sure, Sir, you are too generous and too just to shew any resentment against the poor helpless guests above mentioned, unacquainted as they are with our controversy, merely because they are of the same communion with me. In the second place, Sir, if you have judged these conscientious exiles worthy of protection, at a time when you formed so unfavourable an idea of the cause for which they were suffering, I trust you will not think them less deserving of it, when I shall have vindicated that cause and dispersed your prejudices against it.

try. But where are the men to be found of sufficient zeal and other qualifications to undertake that meritorious work, unless in the former pastors, who indeed pant for the moment when they may begin to devote their lives to it, regardless of temporal rewards and fearless of dangers.

* A slight inspection of Venerable Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*, written soon after its conversion, will suffice to shew that the religion of Catholics now is the very same that was preached to our ancestors by our first apostles. This is also acknowledged by the Protestant Century-writers of Magdeburgh, Cent. 6, c. 10, by Osiander, Bale, Humphries, &c.

But you take care to remind me, that the English Catholics themselves were a few years ago in the condition of a proscribed people, from which they were only rescued by the liberality of the act of 1791.*—Hence you argue on the supposed impropriety of their “religion being studiously brought forward into public notice ;”† and significantly add, that “nothing can so much tend, as such a conduct, to make the legislature regret, if they could be induced by any thing to regret it, a measure which originated in motives of wisdom and humanity, and had for its object the comfort and relief of a considerable body of our fellow subjects.”‡ The English Catholics, Sir, do, and ever will, acknowledge with grateful hearts the justice of that parliament, which, first of all during the space of more than two centuries, deigned to investigate the grounds of the popular clamours and prejudices that had been excited against them, and also the magnanimity which determined it to decide according to the result of its enquiries. They will not forget, what you remind me of, that no class of our legislators displayed more liberality on that occasion than the bench of bishops ;§ and I am happy to have it in my power to testify, that you yourself appeared then to be animated with the same spirit, and lent an hand, as I believe, to the great deed of toleration. But, Sir, permit me to ask you, upon what ground was this parliamentary relief granted? Was it in the nature of a reprieve to convicted criminals ; or in that of a solemn declaration of the innocence of men who had been long suffering under an unjust imputation ? I can answer for what the ideas of Catholics were on that head, and I have reason to believe that the opinions of a great part of the legislators were not different from theirs.—Again, Sir, let me ask you, were there any such conditions as those you hint at, either expressed or implied in the aforesaid act ? Was it then said to us :

* Pp. 5, 111.

† P. 111.

‡ Ibid.

§ P. 104.

you are free from the weight of the penal statutes, but it is on condition, that you do not bring your religion to public notice by any work of controversy, or even of history that may be construed into a defence of it, or of its institutions? Each one shall be free to publish whatever *Reflections on Popery* he pleases, charging you with every degree of absurdity, wickedness, and sedition, but you shall not be at liberty to make any reply to them, or even to write at all upon the subject of ecclesiastical antiquities? No, Sir, the legislature was not so intolerant or so illiberal. They received our pledges of fidelity to our king and country, and they left you and me to settle whatever points of history or theology we may happen to differ about, by the best records and arguments we are able to discover for this purpose. To prove, however, that Catholics have not been of late very eager to engage in controversy, even for the purpose of just defence, it will be sufficient to observe, that whilst the pulpit has continued to resound, and the press to groan, with the extravagant and malicious declamations of a Williamson, a Towson, a Wrangham, a Churton, a Daubeney, a Rennell, &c. (who, whilst they triumph over the fall of Rome, affect to dread her power) not more than one of this class has been called to an account for his calumnies,† and that by a lay gentleman, who had received a personal affront from him.‡ To convince you that I myself have not been so ambitious of gaining controversial laurels, as you suppose, permit me to remind you, that I have by name been called out to the theological combat by the disputant last alluded to,§ and that the first of those mentioned above, actually published a controversial treatise against me,**

* See Hist. and Surv. vol. ii. pref. p. 1.

† The Rev. Ralph. Churton, M. A.

‡ Francis Eyre, Esq. of Warkworth, *Letter to R. C. on his Address, &c.*

§ Answer to the aforesaid Letter.

** *A Defence of the Doctrines, &c.* by J. Williamson, B. D. Preb. of Linc. &c.

both which challenges I have positively declined accepting of

I have already signified, that the legislature is far from rendering any theological opinions whatsoever or characters of past time sacred, or protecting them from the scrutiny of history and argument. It seems, however, that you, Sir, are desirous of spreading your shield over every person and cause, whether public or private, you have any relation with. To my mind, the complaints in different parts of your book, of my having vilified public characters which you respect and cherish, conveys the following meaning : Do not quote the infuriate expressions of Martin Luther, because he was the father of protestantism. Do not mention the unworthy condescensions of Cranmer, because he imported this into England. Do not expose the ruinous consequences of bishop Hoadly's theology, because he was my friend and patron. Do not even acquaint the public with the falsehood, absurdity, and contradictions contained in a former history of Winchester, which has hitherto been ascribed to the Rev. Mr. Wavel, late rector of St. Maurice's, because he was the friend and predecessor of the gentleman to whom I have thought proper to address my reflections. But, at this rate, Sir, what becomes of literary freedom, of mental improvement, and of the truth of history ?

This language was not that of your friend and fellow student in the school of Hoadly, whose authority you so often appeal to, the late learned and sagacious Dr. Balguy. So far from stifling historical truths, he would not have the press shut even against theological controversy of any kind whatsoever. The following are some of his maxims on this head : " the most unbounded freedom is the most favourable to truth.— The reception of truth, I mean religious truth, can never be prejudicial to society. The professors of every religion should be left at full liberty to declare their sentiments to the world, and to explain the reasons on which they are founded, opposition to the established religion, if carried on by no other instruments

than the tongue and the pen, ought not to be considered as a crime. To suppose otherwise is to make all reformation impossible. It is to justify the persecution of christians under pagan emperors. It is to justify the persecution of our own protestant martyrs. It is to justify, in some instances, the inquisition itself.”*

If, Sir, you are true to your own principles, and consistent with yourself, you will be forced to subscribe to the whole of these maxims of your illustrious condisciple, and thereby to condemn several of your late reflections. By the same rule you will be constrained to acknowledge, that the Catholics have no reason to fear, while their sentiments and conduct are such as you yourself describe them, that the legislature will “regret that wise and humane measure, which had for its object the relief and comfort of a considerable number of its subjects.” For you a thousand times repeat, that nothing but imminent danger to the state can justify religious persecution, nor did even the sanguinary Elizabeth ever profess to ground her’s upon any other motive. Now, Sir, from the thickest fight of controversy you have the liberality to raise your voice to do away that only pretext for penal statutes, in the following liberal testimony: “I with pleasure do them (the catholics) the justice of acknowledging that their general conduct has long deserved the confidence of government for loyalty and fidelity.”†

I have the honour to remain, &c.

POSTSCRIPT TO LETTER I.

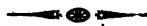
[Dr. S. having professed to animadvert, in the supplementary notes to the second edition of his work, on “those particulars of the answer to it which seemed most deserving of notice,” (p. v. Advertisement to

* Discourses by Thomas Balguy, D. D. Charge III, on Religious Liberty, pp. 224, 225.

† P. 109.

2d. ed.) the reader will conclude that he has, at least, attempted to disprove my account of the origin of the present controversy, by transferring the odium of the first assault from his own shoulders to mine, and to shew that I, and the Catholics in general, have been treated by him with justice and liberality. He will expect to find either a vindication of the strange mode that has been resorted to, of attacking my HISTORY OF WINCHESTER, by a general philippic upon Popery, or some kind of apology for such conduct.— Finally he will presume that the anonymous abuse of me which was taken up from *The Pursuits of Literature*, has on the present occasion either been justified or omitted. Not a word, however, of all this occurs in the said new edition. In the place of it the author gives us the duke of Portland's Letter in commendation of the French emigrant clergy, and a long extract from one of his own sermons concerning the tenets of Catholics, in order to shew, that, by suppressing a part of it, I have misrepresented his meaning. What I quoted from him, amongst other passages in the same spirit, was to this effect : that the following doctrines remain fixed on the Catholic church by virtue of her own principles, viz. to propagate religion by persecution, slaughter, and devastation, to consider every crime, even of the blackest kind, sanctified by this end, to offer pardons and indulgences in order to exempt men from moral obligations, and to make them easy under the violation of them."—These horrid charges our author persists in repeating, and thinks he has made ample satisfaction to the Catholics by allowing in a subsequent passage which I did not quote," that there is and always has been a great proportion of benevolent and virtuous Catholics who abhor the consequences to which the principles of their religion would lead them."—Does Dr. S. then really think that Catholics will except of this compliment to themselves at the expence of their religion? Will they bear to be told that they are better than their religion teaches them to be, whilst the best of them are conscious that

they are infinitely worse? The present controversy has demonstrated our author's inability to support some of these charges. Should he hereafter be able to make out one of his other accusations, I pledge myself, in the face of the public, to renounce the religion which is implicated in them.]



LETTER II.

SIR,

It being manifestly your intention to render the religion of your ancestors an object of suspicion to our government and countrymen, at the present day, as may be gathered from your title page, and still more plainly from the passage cited below;* hence, you place in the front of your attack upon it, your strongest and most popular argument for this purpose, under the following title to your second letter: *The supremacy and Infallibility of the Pope, with the Independence of the Church on the Civil Power.*

Before I proceed to answer your objections on these heads, I might require you to prove the supposition on which they are grounded or rather your positive assertion that these form one of "the prominent topics of my History of Winchester."† But, Sir, to follow where you are pleased to lead me, it is easy to shew, that from the confused and indistinct view which you possess of the subjects you undertake to treat of, your arguments are shot at random, and that, however they may impose upon ignorant and superficial readers, they are incapable of making the smallest impression on the minds of theologians and scholars. In fact you every where confound the Pope's essential spiritual jurisdiction with his accidental tem-

* "I mean...to shew how unfavourable the opinions, which Mr. M. would recommend, are to Government, to society, to our rights and liberties as Englishmen." P. 6.

† P. 8.

poral power. You jumble together the very distinct subjects of the supremacy and the infallibility. Nay you are so ill informed, or so uncandid, as to charge Catholics with attributing impeccability, or an exemption from human errors and vices, amongst other privileges, to their chief bishops. Hence you triumph at discovering that some Pontiffs, in their long succession from St. Peter, during a space of almost 1800 years, have disgraced their sacred station.* Hence also, your taunting "pity for the task of poor Catholic writers," and particularly of Cardinal Baronius and myself, who, you say, "are obliged to support all that the councils and Popes have ever said or done,"† and even those wars, usurpations, and crimes which you so liberally ascribe to them.‡ Your ideas are equally indistinct on the latter, as on the former part of your subject, I mean the independence of the church on the state. You place no boundaries between the power of teaching and baptizing all nations, which Christ communicated to the ministers of his church, a power that is to remain with them till the end of the world,§ and those temporal privileges and emoluments which they have derived from the piety of Christian princes and states. You take no notice of the diversity that has prevailed, both in the ecclesiastical and in the civil laws, with respect to these privileges and emoluments in different ages and countries. Thus, because I justified in my History the celebrated primate who defended the clerical privileges, as he found them established in the twelfth century, you assert, that "I wish to subject Great Britain and Britons to them at the present day."** I am sorry to give so unfavourable an account as this of the work of an eminent scholar upon a professional subject. The chief cause of this confusion I conceive to be, the defective plan you have followed in studying the doctrines of the religion which

* P. 12.

† P. 25.

‡ P. 14.

§ St. Matt. xxviii. 19, 20.

** P. 15.

you treat of. Had you laboured to acquire a knowledge of these from the famous schoolman St. Thomas Aquinas, whom you boast of being unacquainted with,* instead of his less learned and edifying countrymen, Dante and Petrarch,† you would have learned to state them with more precision and accuracy, and also to reason upon them with more solidity and force than you have done.

The necessity of that much degraded science of logic for reasoning justly on theological and other abstract subjects, is evident from your first attempt to dispossess the Roman Pontiff of his pre-eminence and authority in the Christian church. This is grounded on the precepts of Christ, addressed to all his disciples, *to learn his meekness and lowliness of heart*,‡ not

* P. 66.

† P. 15. Dr. S. promises to avoid quotations from infidel and interested historians, and to prefer those which to me must appear unexceptionable, p. 7. To shew how well he fulfils this promise I will give a list of his principal authorities, viz. the poets Dante and Petrarch, both of the remarkable for their irreligion and hatred of the reigning Pontiffs; Giannone, an unprincipled lawyer, who flattered the court of Naples in its attempt to get rid of the feudal tribute of the white palfrey due to that of Rome, by heaping up every kind of abuse and calumny against the latter; Machiavelli, whose very name announces deceit and infidelity; finally, the treacherous Father Paul Sarpi, who professed one religion in order to serve another, (see his life prefixed to *The Rights of Sovereigns*) and whose glaring falsehoods, to the number of near 400, have been so well exposed by Pallavicini, in his genuine History of the Council of Trent. [Dr. S. complains in his 2nd edition, p. 18, that I have called Giannone *unprincipled*, and Father Paul *treacherous*. I have, however, given my reasons for using these appellations, which he has not attempted to refute. With respect to F. Paul, not only Catholic writers but also Protestants of the first eminence, such as Bishop Burnet in his life of Bedell, Jurieu, Deodati, &c. prove that he was a most notorious dissembler in religious matters, and that he continued to profess the Catholic religion, and to wear the Friars habit in order to serve the interests of Protestants. Dr. S. also reproaches me with having said nothing of Thuanus. What I might have said of him with truth is, that he is a most partial writer, and very much of the character of the Venetian Friar.]

‡ *St. Mat. xi. 2—9.*

to assume, but disclaim authority,* as you profess to give the sense of the passages,† and not to consider *his kingdom to be of this world.*‡ Who, that is able to draw a conclusion, does not see that this argument, as you manage it, by proving too much, proves nothing at all? In fact, Sir, it equally militates against the gradations of honour and authority of that church in which you hold so high a station, as it does against those of any other church; and, being addressed to the followers of Christ indiscriminately, it would, in the same manner, prove the unlawfulness of every distinction or power in civil magistrates, nobility, and kings. The best use, Sir, you could have made of your scriptural knowledge for your present purpose, would have been to explain away, in the best manner you could, that clear and energetical declaration of Christ, for the superiority of the first bishop of Rome, St. Peter, over the rest of the apostles; where this saint, in reward of his glorious confession of his Master's divinity, is pronounced by him *blessed*, where his name, which was before *Simon*, is changed into that of *Peter* or *Rock*,§ with an assurance that the church itself shall be principally built upon him,** and where, immediately afterwards, the mysterious keys of heaven, to the exercise of which such important effects are here ascribed, are specially committed to him;†† as likewise that other passage, where the same Peter, who on every other occasion is named the first on the list of apostles, is in a most solemn and impressive manner three several times appointed to the supreme pastorship in Christ's fold, with authority not

* St. Mat. xx. 25, 28.

† P. 9.

‡ St. John, xviii, 36.

§ Σὺ εἰ Πέτρος, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ὕψη τῆς πέτρας, &c.

** *Blessed art thou Simon Barjona; for flesh and blood hath not revealed this to thee, but my father, which is in Heaven.— And I say to thee, thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church,* St. Mat. xvi. 17, 18.

†† *And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven,* &c. v. 19.

to feed the lambs only. but also the sheep themselves, whom the lambs are accustomed to follow.*

You allow that the Popes during the first three hundred years from the time of Christ were exemplary and pious,† but you do not admit that they had then any rank or authority superior to that of other bishops. Nevertheless we find this superiority in the clearest and strongest terms attributed to them, during those primitive ages, by the illustrious fathers and writers who lived in them ; particularly by St. Irenæus,‡ who boasts of his having been instructed by St. Polycarp, the disciple of the apostles ;§ by Tertullian, the most ancient Latin father whose works are extant ;** and by St. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, the great light of the church in the third century.†† We find this prerogative claimed and exercised by Pope Victor in the case of the churches of Asia Minor, which he threatened to excommunicate ;‡‡ whether on sufficient grounds or not, is foreign to the present question ; likewise in the case of the Montanists, and several other heretics, whom the same Pope actually did cut off from the communion of the church.§§ Finally, not to multiply instances, we find this prerogative exercised in the cases of several bishops and other individuals in Gaul,*** in Spain ††† and in Africa,††† which were judged and de-

* St. John, xxi, 15. " Prius agnos, deinde oves commisit ei, quia non solum pastorem, sed et pastorum pastorem eum constituit." S. Eucher. Ep. Lugd. Sæc. v. Serm. In Vig. S. Pet.

† P. 10.

‡ " Ad hanc ecclesiam (Romanam) propter potiore principatatem necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam, &c." Iren. l. iii. contra Hæres, c. iii.

§ Apud Euseb. l. v. c. 20.

** " Audio edictum esse propositum... Episcopus episcoporum dicit," &c. Tertul. l. de Pudic. c. i.

†† " Petri cathedra, ecclesia principalis unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est." S. Cyp. Ep. ad Cornel. Pap.

‡‡ Euseb. Hist. l. v. also l. v. c. 25.

§§ Tertul. Advers. Prax, &c.

*** St. Cyp. Ep. 67.

††† Id. Ep. 38.

††† Id. Passim.

cided upon at Rome by Pope Stephen during the period in question.

Your account of the time when the sees of Rome and Constantinople acquired ecclesiastical pre-eminence, viz. the reign of Constantine, and the means by which this was effected, namely, the secular dignity then ascribed to those cities, "the episcopal dioceses, being the dioceses of the empire, and the ecclesiastical conforming itself to the civil division of the country ;"* this account, I say, is full of inconsistencies, and contradicts the clearest records of church history. In the first place. it is fully confuted by what has been already proved For we have shewn that the see of Rome enjoyed its superiority, no less before the reign of the first Christian emperor, than it did afterwards. 2dly, Constantine, by transferring the seat of empire from the Old to the New Rome, did not augment, but diminished the civil dignity of the former city ; it is therefore singularly absurd in you to fix upon that particular period for the commencement of Rome's ecclesiastical dignity, when, on your supposition, it must rather have been abridged. 3dly, The imperial city itself of Constantinople, which you describe as acquiring, by its civil elevation, an equal rank with Rome, not only remained, for a long time after the period in question,† inferior to Alexandria, which was the second great Patriarchate, being next to that of Rome ; and to Antioch, which was the third on the list ;‡ in a word, to Jerusalem, Cesaræa, &c. but also to the comparatively small see of Heraclea, on which it was immediately dependent.§ Lastly, the seat of empire, or imperial residence, was frequently transferred, both in the east and the west, to different places ;

* P. 10.

† The first attempt to raise Constantinople to the patriarchal dignity was made by the Greek Bishops, in the first great council held in that city during the reign of Theodosius, viz. in 381. But this dignity was always opposed by the western church, until the great council of Lateran, in 1215, when it was allowed, but still in subordination to Rome.

‡ Concil. Nic. i. Oecum. can. vi.

§ Balsamon. apud Cabassut. Not. Concil. &c.

for we occasionally find it at Nicomedia, at Sirmium, at Milan, at Ravenna, at Lyons, at Treves, and at York; but this happened without any change in the rank or authority of the bishops of such places. In general no regulation or alteration of this sort ever was, or could be effected, but by the act and deed of the church herself,* and this in such sort, that the chief superiority ever was immutably and necessarily acknowledged to reside in the see of Rome.†

Enough has been said; Sir, to prove that your dissertation on the rise of the Pope's ecclesiastical power, however plausible it may seem to an ignorant reader, must excite the astonishment and indignation of men who are acquainted with the monuments of Christian antiquity. This would appear more fully were I to pursue from the reign of Constantine down to the middle ages, the history of the general councils which have confirmed this spiritual supremacy,‡ the testimonies of the ancient fathers and historians who have defended it,§ and the examples of oppressed patriarchs and bishops who have found protection in it.** But

* Even Bingham, whose testimony Dr. S. appeals to, acknowledges, in contradiction to him, that "the church was not tied to observe this model (of the state) but used her liberty in varying from it." *Antiq. b. ix. c. i. s. viii.*

† "Ecclesia Romana semper habuit principatum." *Concil. Oecum. Chalced. can. xvi.* "Videmus omnes ante omnia primatum et præcipuum honorem, secundum canones Dei, archiepiscopo veteris Romæ conservari." *Ibid.*

‡ Particularly *Concil. Sardic. can. vii. Ephes. Act. iii. Chalced. Act. ii. &c.* [To these I must add the great Western Council of Arles held in 314, at which the British bishops of London and York assisted.]

§ *Iren. Cyp. ut sup. Leo Serm. i. in Nativ. SS. Pet. Paul. Hieron. Ep. xiv. ad Dam. &c. Socrat. Hist. Ecc. l. ii. c. v. ix. xi. xiii. Sozom. Hist. l. iii, c. vii, l. vi, c. xxiii. Theodor. Hist. l. i, c. vii, l. ii, c. xxiii, &c.*

** It is notorious, that St. Athanasius, patriarch of Alexandria, SS. Paul, Chrysostom, Flavian, and Ignatius, patriarchs of Constantinople, with a great number of other prelates, severally appealed to the popes of their respective times, from the sentences of deposition which hath been issued against them in certain synods, and were restored to their sees by their authority. [See *Socrates, Hist. Ecc. l. xi, c. v. Sozamen. Hist. Ecc. l. iii, c. vii. Theodor. l. xi, c. xxli.*]

instead of producing in detail the Christian authorities, here referred to, I shall satisfy myself with the testimony to this effect of a well informed Pagan author of the fourth century, who, on that account, may perhaps pass with you for a less exceptionable witness, than bishops and church historians. Ammianus Marcellinus then, giving an account of the persecution raised by the emperor Constantius against the famous patriarch of Alexandria, St. Athanasius, tells us, that this prince laboured to get the condemnation of the latter signed by Pope Liberius, on account of the superior authority enjoyed by the bishops of the Roman see.* So well known was the pope's supremacy at this early period, even to the pagans!

The chief cause of your overlooking these strong proofs of the *ecclesiastical* supremacy of the see of Rome, is evidently your attention to that temporal dominion, which the pontiffs acquired in a part of Italy during the eight century. Accordingly it is to this subject you immediately direct all your thoughts, though of comparatively little consequence in the present controversy. You allow that the "sovereignty in question was honourably acquired,"† which though it bore no necessary connection with the Pope's spiritual power, yet was it one of the means in the hands of Providence of preserving the latter from corruption and violence, during those alterations that took place, at the aforesaid period, in the general state of

* Hunc (Athanasium) per subscriptionem abjicere sede sacerdotali, paria sentiens cæteris, jubente principe (Constantio) Liberius (Papa) monitus perseveranter repitebatur, nec visum hominem nec auditum damnare nefas ultimum sæpe exclamans; aperte scilicet recalcitrans imperatoris arbitrio. Id enim ille, Athanasio semper infensus, licet sciret impletum tamen auctoritate, qua potiores æternæ urbis episcopi, firmari desiderio nitentibus ardenti. Ammian. Marcell. Rer. Gest. l. xv. [The same may be inferred from the Pagan emperor Aurelian's decree, on the occasion of a schism in the church of Antioch: viz. that which ever of the rival bishops was acknowledged by the Italians and the bishop of Rome, he should be supported by the civil power of the empire. Euseb. l. viii, c. vii.]

† P. 11.

the Christian world.* Admitting as I have explicitly and repeatedly done, both in my history and in the present Letter, that pontiffs, like other men, were liable to the self-love and passions of human nature, it would be a greater miracle than any recorded in holy writ, if some of them had not abused both their spiritual supremacy, and their temporal principality, to the gratification of their ambition and avarice — Some abuses of this nature I have recorded, not in terms of approbation, as you suppose I was bound to do, but of strong censure, and I have shewn, that they were resisted and condemned by the princes, prelates, and writers of those times, no less than they are at present.† I could add, Sir, a long list of contemporary saints, and of other most revered characters, such as St. Otho, of Germany, St. Louis, king of France, St. Edmund and Richard Wethershed, archbishops of Canterbury, Hugh Grosteste, bishop of Lincoln, &c. who proved by their conduct that they knew how, as I have elsewhere said, “to acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the pope, without ascribing to him an atom of temporal authority” or property in this or in the other kingdoms of Europe,‡ more than their respective legislatures condescended to give him. I could adduce many acts of the sovereign and the legislature at home, to restrain the encroachments of the Roman court,§ without any

* Upon the dissolution of the Roman empire, as Fleury remarks, had not the Popes become in some degree independent by the acquisition of temporal power, they would unavoidably have become the creatures and tools of the neighbouring princes and states, in a manner that would have incapacitated them from performing their spiritual duties in a proper manner; or rather the popedom itself, with all its functions, would have been subject to the management and disposal of the most powerful prince in Italy for the time being. We see in what manner the patriarchate of Constantinople is constantly bought and sold, and degraded in every possible way, by being in a state of dependency on the Ottoman Porte.

† Hist. vol. I. pp. 165, 236, 237, 238, 247, &c.

‡ Ibid. p. 385.

§ See Collier's Hist. vol. ii. Pref. p. 7. Mat. West. an. 1301, &c.

impeachment or suspicion of their orthodoxy, by way of shewing that this nation was not heretofore in such an abject state of dependence on the former, as you and most modern writers so invidiously describe it to have been ; and I could call to your memory the example of many zealous children of the Pope abroad, besides the emperor Charles V. who have not scrupled to take up arms against his temporal power, and *whilst they kissed his feet to tie his hands,** in order to restrain that power within its due limits.

If the public vices of some Popes, particularly their ambition and injustice. have not deprived them of their spiritual authority, or the church of the benefits of the execution of this authority, so neither have the private vices of certain others produced these effects. Had not Catholic writers acknowledged and recorded the crimes of these wicked pontiffs, particularly those of the tenth century,† you could never have come to the knowledge of them. To argue, however, as you do, from the accidental abuse of power, to the denial of the power itself, is copying the example of the revolutionists in a neighbouring country. We all know, that they paved the way for the destruction of their monarchy, by repeated publications, in various shapes, of the alleged *crimes of kings*, without reflecting on what the event of their proceedings has rendered so evident to every thinking mind, namely, that if these crimes had been much more numerous and atrocious than they are repre-

* Fleury, Eccles. Hist.

† "By such Popes," says Dr. S. "Mr. M's. Saxon saints were canonized in the 10th century." P. 12, n. He elsewhere reproaches Catholics, that the highest titles and honours of sanctity were lavished on princes who had the merit of founding convents, whilst they were refused to the great Alfred, pp. 7, 8.—All these assertions are very unfortunately made for the credit of Dr. S's skill in history. For, first, these Saxon saints were not canonized by the Popes at all, but by the prelates and people who had been witnesses of their virtues and sanctity. 2ndly, Alfred's name does actually occur in some of the ancient calendars. 3rdly. Not one of the princes in question was so famous for founding convents as Alfred himself.

sented, still they would be infinitely out-balanced, by the single advantage that these sovereigns served the purpose of key-stones to the whole edifices of the states over which they presided, and that they prevented the mischiefs of interminable divisions and changes. The benefit of the supremacy in this point of view, namely, in preventing schisms, and in serving as a centre of union and an ensign of orthodoxy, has been seen and acknowledged not only by the ancient fathers, but also by modern Protestants.* This, how-

* P. 10. "*Hoc omnes profiteamur politiam ecclesiasticam rem esse sanctam et utilem ut sint episcopi, item ut Romanus pontifex præsit omnibus episcopis.*" Melanch. Ep. ad Reg. Gall. With the same view the learned Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, acknowledges, that much good might result from admitting a patriarchal power and a centre of unity in the see of Rome, if Catholics would be content with this. See his Answer to Militiere's Triumph of Truth. [The late Archbishop of Canterbury, Wake, after all his controversies with Catholics, seems to have been willing to come to a composition with them on this head. He accordingly writes of the Pope as follows: "*Servatis regnorum juribus, et ecclesiarum dignitatibus, suo fruatur qualicunque primatu.*" See Maclaine's 3d Append. to Mosheim's Hist.] The learned Grotius having asked how it happens that Catholics are enabled to compose their religious differences, and not Protestants, makes answer, that this is owing to the primacy which subsists amongst the former. Ad. Rivet. Apolog. art. vii. [I shall here add the words of this great man, the glory of Protestants, in the conclusion of the same letter; "*Restitutionem Christianorum in unum idemque corpus semper optatum a Grotio sciunt qui eum noverunt. Existimavit aliquando incipi posse a Protestantium inter se conjunctione. Postea vidit id plane fieri nequire. Quia præterquam Calvinistarum ingenia ferme omnium ab omni pace sunt alienissima; Protestantes nullo inter se communi ecclesiastico regimine sociantur. Quæ causæ sunt, cur facile partes in unum Protestantium corpus colligi nequeant: imo et cur partes aliæ atque aliæ sint exurrecturæ. Quare nunc plane ita sentit Grotius, et multi cum illo, non posse Protestantes inter se jungi, nisi simul jungantur cum iis qui sedi Romanæ cohærent; sine qua nullum sperari potest in ecclesia commune regimen. Ideo optat ut ea divisio quæ evenit, et causæ divisionis tollantur.— Inter eas causas non est primatus Episcopi Romani, secundum canones, fatente Melancthone, qui eum primatum etiam necessarium putat ad retinendam unitatem.*"]

ever, is not the only benefit for which both Christianity and society have been indebted, in every age, to the Roman Pontiffs. They have been incessantly watchful and laborious in propagating the faith and morality of the gospel amongst infidel nations, in every part of the globe,* in performing which they have spent no small part of those presents which the piety of surrounding nations conferred upon them. Our island, in particular, was twice rescued from the shades of barbarous Paganism by their apostolic zeal. They vigorously and successfully protected, at several periods, all Christendom, from the fury and oppression of the Saracens, Tartars, Turks, and other infidels, under which it would otherwise have sunk.† They supported the divine law and the canons of the church, admonishing and censuring those offenders who were too powerful to receive this correction

* This apostolical work has been successfully carried on by missionaries from Rome, in India, Tartary, China, Cochin-China, Corea, Siam, Japan, Mexico, Peru, Canada, and other infidel regions, during the two last centuries. It appears by letters lately published, that the number of converts made in China, Corea, Siam, and Cochin-China, amounts annually to many thousands. In the last century Christianity had been so widely and vigorously propagated in the islands of Japan, previously to the horrible persecution raised against it through the perfidy and impiety of the Dutch merchants, that no fewer than 1,100,000 persons suffered martyrdom before it could be eradicated. See Berault Bercastel. *Hist. Ecc.* vols. xix. xx.

† I have shewn the great benefit, or rather the necessity of the Crusades, for the safety of Christendom, at the time when they were undertaken. *Hist.* vol i, p. 266. The last of these set on foot by Pius V, produced the victory of Lepanto, which broke the alarming naval power of the Mussulmen that threatened all Europe. Dr. S. asserts, in answer to my arguments, "that the expenditure of men and treasure, which these crusades occasioned, would have been better employed in defence of the several countries from whence they issued." P. 61.—This has been precisely the language of too many amongst the present degenerate states of Europe, and they have felt the fatal effects of their selfish policy. What would be the condition of England, if during the present war she had kept all her men and money within the precincts of her own shores? She would by this time have been stripped of them both.

from prelates who were their own subjects. When they converted the different nations, they at the same time, civilized them. What savages were not our ancestors, the Saxons, before St. Augustine and his companions were sent to instruct them by Pope Gregory the Great, who had himself set out to perform this heroic charity; as likewise the several nations of Germany and Scandinavia, before St. Boniface and other apostles were employed by succeeding Popes in converting them! Not to mention the Irish, the Scotch, and many other nations, who derive their refinement, together with their Christianity, from the same source. The Popes were incontestibly the chief patrons and promoters, in every age, of literature and the polite arts. Finally, they formed the Christian states into one great community, and for many ages preserved the liberties of Europe, by preserving the balance of its power. If they are accused of exciting some wars, they certainly prevented or put a stop to a great many more, and by the Treve de Dieu which they enforced,* by their protection of the oppressed Jews† their institutions for ransoming cap-

* The Treve de Dieu, which was set on foot and enforced by the Popes and the bishops in the 11th and the following centuries, at a time when almost all the barons and petty states in Europe were at war with those next to them, was an admirable invention of humanity for mitigating the calamities of that evil. By virtue of this it became unlawful to attack any person going to or from church, holding the plough, or exercising other arts of husbandry, as likewise women, children, merchants and travellers. It was also forbidden to wage war at all, amongst Christians, between Wednesday at night, and Monday morning in every week. See Act. Concil. Claramont, &c.—These regulations could not have answered their purpose without the acceptance of the princes and people. But history informs us, that they were received by them, as we might expect with the utmost joy in most parts of Europe. In this kingdom, they were at least in part received, during the dreadful civil war between king Stephen and the empress Maud; a council having been held for that purpose in our city of Winchester, A. D. 1142.

† In all those popular insurrections which broke out from time to time, especially during the 13th and 14th centuries, a-

tives,* and by many others of the like nature, they most effectually served the cause of humanity, and manifested the genuine spirit of Christianity.

The worst Popes, Sir, were of more service to the cause of religion by filling their station in the church and transacting its public business, than they were of detriment to it by the effect and scandal of their personal crimes. But how small is the number of those who have disgraced this station, in comparison with those who have done honour to it.† In the catalogue of about two hundred and fifty-five Pontiffs, who have filled the chair of Rome, during a succession of almost 1800 years, since the days of St. Peter, perhaps not more than thirty names occur which dishonour it, while double that number have been persons of eminent virtues and heroic sanctity, whose example is publicly held out for the edification and example of Christians, and while the rest have been prelates of unblemished manners and edifying piety. Look at the present Pope, Pius VI. whose essential authority is not less real in the dungeons of Dauphiny,‡ than it was in the Lateran and Vatican basilics; view him in all the vicissitudes of his lengthened life, and say, whether you discover in him any of the *marks of the beast*, any of the *characters of the man of sin*, the Antichrist of the Revelations, which your former colleague, and other angry controvertists and interpre-

gainst the Jews, in this and most other Christian countries, the Popes always interposed to the utmost of their power to protect them. Many vigorous constitutions for this purpose of humanity, particularly by Gregory IX, Innocent IV, John XXII, Clement VI, are still extant.

* The religious orders of Mercy, and of the Holy Trinity, &c. were instituted for this express purpose.

† A writer, who had imbibed strong prejudices against the Catholic Religion, admits that the Pope "is generally a man of learning and virtue, mature in years and experience, who has seldom any vanity or pleasure to gratify at his people's expense, and is neither encumbered with wife, children, or mistresses." Addison's Remarks on Italy, p. 112.

‡ Since the above was written we have been informed of his death at Valence, August 29, 1799.

ters, pretend to have found out.* To do you justice, Sir, you yourself have said nothing of this sort. On the contrary, you have spoken with a humanity that does you honour, of his sufferings, as an insulted and persecuted old man, and with approbation of his good government and public spirit as a prince.† But permit me, at the same time, to remind you of what is most to our present purpose, namely, of his edifying piety, patience, and charity, in private life,‡ and of his unwearied watchfulness and zeal in the discharge of his public duties. These qualities were eminently displayed in his opposition to the unjust and irreligious innovations of the emperor Joseph II. when, laying aside all etiquette and personal considerations, he went to Vienna, in order to open the eyes of that deluded prince to his duty and interest. To the disaffection occasioned by the introduction of these innovations into the Low Countries, the subsequent loss of them to the French may justly be ascribed. We remark the same qualities in his zealous and persevering efforts, guided by learning and prudence,§ to reclaim the ecclesiastical electors of Germany, the bishop of Pistoria** and others, who, under pretence of reforming abuses and errors, were cherishing the growth of that infidelity which has since shot up to

* See the notes to Dr. Rennell's Sermon at St. Paul's, also the pamphlets of a crowd of modern expositors of the Revelations. If these writers were of a character to be stopped by inconsistencies, they would perceive the absurdity of asserting, that almost every nation which believes in Christ has been brought to the knowledge of him by the agency of Anti-christ, and that the greater part of their own religious tenets, liturgy, and institutions, together with their ministerial orders, have been derived from him.

† P. 108.

‡ We have just been informed that the last act of his life consisted in a prayer for his enemies.

§ See his learned and copious *Réponsio ad Electores*, c.

** Since the publication of the Third Edition of this work, the late bishop of Pistoria, Scipio Ricci, has voluntarily abjured his Jansenistical errors and other novelties (see *condemnotis Synod. Pistoje. &c. apud Keating & Co.*) at the feet of the present Pope. See *Allocutis P. Pii. VII.* June 26, 1805.

such an astonishing height. With what firmness has he not stood against the constant attempts that have been made to seduce and intimidate him from pursuing the straight line of his duty, since the overwhelming force of that infidelity has spread itself over a great part of Europe, at a time when all the neighbouring states have, in a great measure, yielded to it. Pius VI. was well aware of the dangers to which he exposed himself by refusing to sanction the Civil Constitution, as it was called, of the French clergy; but he also knew what he owed to the cause of truth and the church, of which he was the head. He has accordingly seen himself stripped of his principality, his treasures, his works of art, his library, his conveniencies and necessities of life, without complaint, being satisfied with the consciousness of having preserved the deposit of sacred truth and spiritual jurisdiction whole and inviolate as he had received it. His answer to the solicitations of the enemies of the church, who were impatient to gain a triumph over it, by some improper condescension of its chief pastor, was this: *The property and monuments of religion are at your mercy, but the religion itself is out of your reach. It existed before you, and it will subsist after you. With respect to myself, I want not your pensions or favours. The meanest food and clothing will suffice for this wretched body, during the short time it has yet to remain above the earth.*—This was a language and a conduct worthy of the father of the faithful, and similar to that which had a little before been held by so many thousands of his children, the martyred and the exiled clergy of France. Whilst you, Sir, glory in the mutability of your creed, which, you give us to understand, can accommodate itself to fluctuating opinions,* permit me to glory in the unchangeable nature of mine. Fixed on the firm basis of the *faith which was once delivered to the saints*† it has already withstood the violences

* "Speaking of infallibility, I cannot help congratulating ourselves for not pretending to possess it." P. 23.

† St. Jude, iii.

and calamities of eighteen centuries, and it will, I am well assured, continue to withstand all opposition until the second coming of its divine founder.

In speaking of the spiritual jurisdiction of the head of the church, I have avoided entering into any scholastic questions concerning its precise limits, the irreformability of the Pontiff's doctrinal decrees, and other similar topics. All that I mean to assert on these heads, at present, is confined within the following propositions ; that the pope is possessed of a real superiority and authority in the Christian church, conformably to the texts above quoted ; that the church herself, as composed of a head and members, is by virtue of the divine promises* supernally assisted in preserving and teaching the truths that were originally revealed to her ; and that the said spiritual jurisdiction, whether of the Pope or of the church is of a pure spiritual nature, and perfectly distinct from the temporal rights and authority of princes and states. This last point, which is deserving of particular notice, as it is that on which you labour to render the allegiance of Catholics suspected, is not only conformable to Scripture,† and to the doctrine of the most celebrated Pontiffs and prelates in ancient times,‡ but also directly follows from the late solemn oath which the catholics have taken to the legislature, by its own appointment.§ Notwithstanding this clear distinction between spiritual and temporal authority, you, Sir. profess not to be satisfied on this head, but maintain, that the independency of the former with respect to the latter is a solecism in government, and you emphatically warn the magistrate, in the words of your friend Dr. Balguy, to guard against all persons who admit it, whether Protestants or Ca-

* St. Matt. xxviii, 20. St. John xiv. 16. 1 Tim. iii, 15, &c.

† St. Mat. xxii. 21.

‡ Osius Cordub. apud Athan. ad Solitar. Gelas. Pap. Ep. viii, ad Anast. Imp.

§ "I do declare, that I do not believe that the Pope or any other foreign prince, prelate, &c. hath, or ought to have, any civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm." 31 Geo. III. c. 32.

tholics, as dangerous subjects.* You do very right, Sir, in classing Protestants with Catholics, when you speak of those who admit a proper authority in the church independent of the state, with respect both to faith and rites, as it is easy to shew, that this is no less the doctrine of the church of England than it is of Catholics, from the writings of her most learned divines, from her present established terms of communion,† and from her repeated practice in holding synods at home, and from her sending representatives to those abroad, particularly to the famous synod of Dort, in the reign of James I, where we all know, religious questions were decided in as high a tone of authority as they were in the council of Trent. I will add, Sir, if it be a solecism, as you tell us it is, to admit such an independent authority as this, (the only one that Catholics plead for) namely, such as regulates their religious doctrine and worship, then not only our Alfreds and our Edwards, with all Christian states whatsoever, in past ages, were guilty of a solecism, but also the Apostles and Christ himself. In fact, you leave us to conclude, that if the Apostles and even Christ were now exercising their functions in the land of Judea, and were to address an inspired epistle to you on any religious subject whatsoever, you should think yourself bound to reject its authority as clashing with the religious supremacy which you think resides exclusively in the civil magistrate. Finally, upon this principle, you are not only exposed to the guidance of infants and women, in matters of this nature, to which indeed you express no repugnance,‡ but also to that of professed infidels and atheists, if God, in his anger, should abandon our country as he has done France, to a civil domination of this description.

I cannot finish this letter without saying a few words on the celebrated dispute between king Henry II. and primate St. Thomas Becket, as you, Sir, like most

* Pp. 22, 23.

† "The church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith." Art. xx, inter. 39.

‡ P. 22.

modern writers, so grievously misrepresented it,* in consequence of your not distinguishing its different stages and subjects. It began indeed concerning the exemption, which the clergy claimed from the civil jurisdiction of the state, but it was chiefly carried on concerning the exemption, which certain lay-persons pretended to, from the spiritual authority of the church. With respect to the former question I am aware, and have already intimated, that the church has no inherent claim or privilege whatsoever, and I have not now to learn, that men by becoming churchmen do not cease to be subjects. Nevertheless it having pleased some of the greatest and wisest emperors that ever ruled the civilized world, particularly Constantine, Theodosius, Justinian.† and Charlemagne, to confer a judicial authority, with respect to their inferior clergy, upon bishops, and this privilege having been admitted, with the civil law itself, into most Christian countries, and sworn to by their sovereigns, the clergy had an undoubted right to claim it, and to maintain it at the period in question. You, Sir, think the immunity in question was excessive, judging, as you do, from the present state of the world. The aforesaid emperors, however, thought it reasonable, conceiving it better that a few criminals should escape without condign punishment, than that an order of men should be disgraced in the eyes of the people, who were no longer qualified to fill their station than they could command respect. Which ever of these opinions was better grounded, certain it is, that the exemption in question formed part of the law of the land in the 12th century. Of course the primate, as head of the clergy, would have been inexcusable had he not defended it in a lawful manner. But all such immunities have long since been done away in this and other countries; and it is a false accusation, unsupported by the shadow of an argument, that I aim at restoring them. In the progress of this controversy it appeared, that the king claimed a right to exempt all his officers and tenants from the spiritual jurisdiction of the church, and to in-

† *Pp.* 16, 17.‡ *Novel.* cxxiii, c. xxii.

terfere in the exercise of this jurisdiction amongst the prelates themselves, as likewise to keep ecclesiastical benefices vacant, as long as he pleased, in order to enjoy their profits, with other requisitions of the same nature. To these it was impossible for the primate to yield. His opposition, however, was carried on not by force of arms, as was the case with his successor, Stephen Langton, at Runnymede,* but with the proper weapons of his spiritual calling, namely, prayers, tears, exhortations, censures, and sufferings, even to the shedding of his blood.

But after all your professed submission to the civil magistrate, in spiritual as well as civil matters, it is easy, Sir, to shew, that the new democratic system, which yourself and Dr. Balguy have devised, of deriving ecclesiastical authority from the people, and on which you expatiate with so much eloquence, is infinitely more dangerous, in every point of view, to the peace and security of the state, than were the highest pretensions of the ancient church to independency, which you paint in such odious colours. This important topic, however, forms a distinct subject, which therefore I shall treat of apart in a future letter.

I have the honor, &c.

POSTSCRIPT TO LETTER II.

[To this refutation of the doctor's confused and erroneous reflections on the pope's supremacy, he has not thought proper, in this second edition, to make a word of reply. Whether he really considers my arguments as undeserving his notice, or that he finds it difficult to give a satisfactory answer to them, the reader will judge for himself. However that may be, Dr. S. again lays down those dangerous maxims, which I have proved to militate against all distinctions of rank amongst christians, without deigning to explain or

[* See the first article of Magna Charta.]

pallitate them. He again asserts that the pope's authority is to be dated from the establishment of christianity by Constantine, though I have brought incontestible evidence to shew that it was acknowledged in the preceeding ages, as far back as ecclesiastical records reach. He continues to confound the Pontiff's accidental temporal power with his essential spiritual jurisdiction, though I had clearly distinguished one from the other, shewing that the former has been disclaimed upon oath by the English Catholics, and that the latter is no just subject of the nation's jealousy. This I have proved, from the testimony of the most illustrious members of the Protestant communion, from the claim of the church of England, in her articles, to a similar power, and from the spiritual authority which the apostles exercised over the whole earth during their continuance in it. To be brief, he even persists in asserting that I wish to introduce the Pope's temporal power into this country, and to make the clergy independent ~~of the state, and that Baronius,~~ myself, and other Catholic writers, "are obliged, by our principles, to support all that Popes and councils have ever said or done however indefensible," notwithstanding I had brought proofs of the contrary to the last point of evidence. If my antagonist felt himself able to contest these points with me, was he not, in justice to his cause and to himself, obliged to do so, when he gave a second edition of his Reflections? If he felt himself unequal to this task, ought he to have republished that work, and to have persisted in exciting the public jealousy and odium against a respectable class of his fellow subjects, on grounds which he was incapable of justifying?]

LETTER III.

SIR,

The universal bug-bear of the present age is superstition, a certain mark of its irreligion; and every one pronounces his neighbour superstitious, whose religious opinions and practices are stricter than his own. Amongst the pretended Philosophers of France, the belief of an intelligent self-existent Creator is considered as a childish superstition; and a man would there be ridiculed for weakness and bigotry, who should profess himself incapable of understanding, how the mountains could be formed by the degestive power of oysters, and how elephants could spring from the earth by the force of vegetation*. In this country the opinions and practices of Popery furnish modern wits and fashionable writers with the ordinary subject of their ridicule and declamation when they give scope to their talents upon the topic of superstition. I have been led to make these observations by reading your third letter, which treats of *Monastic Institutions, the Celibacy of the Clergy*, and other religious observances. In what I have to say, Sir, in my turn, upon these subjects, I shall make no apology to you for sometimes opposing scriptural doctrines and examples to your ingenious and finespun dissertations, as I presume we at least agree in acknowledging the truth of Revelation, and that these truths are never opposite to morality and sound policy.

The reflection, with which you open your third letter, is certainly a very favourite one, as you repeat it, in one shape or other, a great number of times, both in the work now before me, and in your Letters to the late bishop of London.† On the present occasion you

* See these and other absurdities of the most celebrated infidel philosophers of France, detailed and refuted by the learned and ingenious Abbé Barruel, in his *Lettres Helviennes*.

† See *Considerations on the present Establishment, &c.*

express it in the following terms: "As it was the policy of the court of Rome to detach their clergy from civil connections with the country to which they belonged, so was it also to detach them from their social connections. The more these ties were weakened or diminished, their obedience to a foreign power was likely to be more complete."*. To such unworthy and inadequate causes do you ascribe the important institutions above mentioned, in order to avoid acknowledging the true, the obvious, and the honourable source of them !

To speak first of a monastic life : it is plain, Sir, from your own account, that this institution did not take its rise from the cause which you here assign, namely, "the policy of the court of Rome in detaching the clergy from civil connections with their country;" for, in a subsequent passage, you carry up this institution as high as the retirement of the famous St. Anthony into the desert, which happened in the third century,† a period, at which you have acknowledged the conduct of the Popes to have been exemplary, and free from the ambitious policy here described.‡ The place also which you assign for its origin was very remote from the ordinary sphere of

* P. 27.

† P. 31. Dr. S. is guilty of an anachronism where he says, that St. Anthony retired into the desert "at the beginning of the fourth century." This event took place in the year 272.—See Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. [Dr. S. having been convicted of an error in placing this event in the fourth century, endeavours, in his second edition, p. 20, by a verbal quibble, to shew that I myself was not accurate in referring to the year 272.—The fact is, St. Anthony retired into the *desert of the Red Sea*, about 285; but the period of his "retiring from his family and friends into the *neighbouring desert*," not far from his native village of Coma, to which Dr. S. spoke in his first edition, was sometime after the year 270. See Tillem. Mem. Ecc. vol. vii. pp. 107, 108. Dr. S. proceeds to cast a ridicule on the life of this Saint, written by the great St. Athanasius, which might with equal propriety be applied to the temptations of Job or to those of Christ himself recorded in scripture.]

‡ P. 10.

their power, viz. Upper Egypt. The fact however is, that an ascetical or retired and contemplative kind of life was even more ancient than the time which you have marked out. We clearly discover it in the second century.* We find evident traces of it in the time of the apostles,† and of Christ himself. For, tell me, Sir, what is your idea of the kind of life which the prophetess Anna led in the temple, in prayer, fasting, and celibacy,‡ and of that which the prophet, and more than a prophet,§ St. John the Baptist, passed in the desert?*** Do not these come under the description of an ascetic life? Are they not at least liable to all the objections which you have raised against it? Again, has not the divine founder of our religion explicitly recommended the essential practices of such a course of life by his doctrine,†† and confirmed them by his example, being destitute of house and money,‡‡ observing celibacy, being obedient to his own creatures,§§ and employing whole nights in prayer upon the tops of mountains and in gardens?¶ Did he not on one occasion, in particular, spend forty days together in a wilderness, desti-

* Euseb. Hist. Origen.

† Acts, iv, 32. [I may add that the histories of Elijah and Elisha afford striking instances of an ascetic life under the old law, as do those of the sons of the prophets mentioned in ii, alias iv book of Kings, chapters 2, 4, 6, &c. according to the observation of the great Bossuet; Hist. Univ.]

‡ Anna, a prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, lived with her husband seven years from her virginity, and was a widow of about fourscore and four years, who departed not from the temple, but served God with fasting and prayer night and day. St. Luke, ii, 36, 37:

§ St. Mat. xi, 9.

** The child (John the Baptist) was in the desert till the day of his shewing in Israel. St. Luke, i, 80. The same John had his raiment of camels hair, and a leathern girdle about his loins, and his meat was locust and wild honey. St. Mat. iii, 4: See also St. Mat. xi. 8.

†† St. Mat. xix, 21. St. Mat. xix, 12.

‡‡ St. Luke, ix, 58. St. Mat. xvii, 27.

§§ St. Luke, ii, 51.

¶ St. Luke, vi, 12. St. John, xviii, 2.

tute of society, of food, and of every worldly comfort ?*

If from these exalted authorities, we descend to those of the most illustrious fathers and doctors of the church in the fourth, fifth, and the following ages, many of whose names are enrolled in your sacred calendar,† no less than they are in our's : Of what profession were the saints Athanasius, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, John Chrysostom, Ambrose, Augustin, Jerome, Benedict, Gregory, Swithun, Boniface, Bede, &c. ? They were all of them institutors, patrons, or members of monastic establishments. How flimsy and trifling. Sir, must your airy speculations and new invented theories on " the utility of virtue on the social affections, and on the laws of nature," prove to the sincere christian, when confronted with these victorious maxims and examples ! How profane even must he judge your repeated charges of folly, superstition, and enthusiasm, which he sees are in fact directed against those sacred characters, whilst you direct them against a course of life to which they gave so decided a preference !

But, Sir, to meet you on your own ground, give me leave to state aright the question which you have misrepresented. Do then the advocates of an ascetic life authorize or defend the transgression of any civil or social duty whatsoever ? No, Sir, they expressly require, that each individual, who professes a desire of observing the evangelical counsels, should first have fulfilled the evangelical commands, by the performance of every duty that he owes to his private relatives, and to the community. Have I, in my History, as you signify, commemorated, in terms of praise and veneration, kings who descended from their thrones, (where their presence was necessary for the public good) or wives for separating themselves from their husbands, (except when it was done by mutual consent) for the sake of embracing a life of greater piety and perfection ?"‡ No, Sir, if you again examine

* St. Mat. iv, 2.

† *Prefixed to Book of Com. prayer.*

‡ *P. 31.*

the circumstances of king Ina's and queen Ethelburga's abdication of the crown,* which you seem to refer to, you will find no such meaning conveyed, as that which you intimate, but rather the reverse. The question then regards such persons only as are free from all those ties of nature and society of which you speak; concerning whom I ask, whether it is not lawful for them to retire from the tumult and the dangers of the world on religious motives, as so many others do without blame, nay frequently with the highest commendations, on philosophic, studious, and even sensual motives? Whether instead of that lounging life, useless to the parties themselves and to the rest of mankind, which so many persons of both sexes lead, *whose great business of the day is*, as the poet says, *to dine*,† an unconnected individual may not, without any violation of civil or social duty, employ six or eight hours daily in repeating David's Psalms, and in other devotions? Whether those who are apprehensive of the force of bad example, and other seductions, in a general intercourse with the world on one hand, and of their own weakness on the other, may not avoid the temptations as much as they can, which they think themselves unable to contend with? Finally, whether being impressed with an idea of that absolute perfection to which Christ calls all his followers,‡ there is any thing wrong in making the attainment of this the constant subject of their study, and the business of their lives? I must add, that the arguments to which you resort on this subject, if well examined, will be found to militate as strongly against your own conduct, as against that of the ascetics in question. For you, Sir, have not chosen the more active and laborious employments of life, such as the the present season particularly requires. On the contrary, you have absolutely precluded yourself from serving your country by your arms, and your friends

* Hist. vol. i, p. 104, &c.

† Young's Satires.

‡ St. Mat. v, 48.

by your eloquence. You have spent a considerable and chosen portion of your life in the academic porticos of colleges, during which you voluntarily engaged in the observance of celibacy; and yet, I am sure, you were not conscious to yourself of violating, in the smallest degree, any law either of nature or society in the choice you made. To conclude, you embraced a state of life, from which you knew that a stricter morality and a higher sense of religion is required by the judgment of mankind, than from the ordinary class of christians, and which therefore may be considered, in some sense, as a state of greater perfection. Do but examine all this, Sir, by the rules of morality that you yourself have laid down, and I am confident your equity will lead you to revoke the severe censures you have passed upon the monks and religious.

Having copied, at full length, my account of the occupations of a monastic day, (which you pronounce to be very uninviting, for want of being acquainted with the interior consolations that sweetened them) you proceed to descant on the absurdity of "performing a routine of religious services, in pronouncing the same words, chaunting the same notes, using the same gestures; the mind," as you say, "not accompanying the actions of the body, but leaving them merely mechanical,* and the attention being directed to the shadow, instead of the substance, of piety."† When you wrote this, Sir, did it not occur to you, that the same words would form as plausible an argument in the mouth of a deist or libertine against your cathedral service, as they do in yours against the devotions of the ancient monks, from which, in fact, they are borrowed? But pray, Sir, from what canon of the church, or from what chapter of St. Benedict's rule, or those of the other ascetics, do you conclude, that the founders of religious orders were satisfied with a mere mechanical worship, and confined their ideas to "the

* P. 34.

† P. 32.

means, instead of the end of true religion? * I have paid some attention to the study of this subject, and I take upon myself to affirm, that the ancient ascetics were well advised that no species of prayer, without their best attention and devotion, was of any avail to them, and that the exterior practices of piety and penance did not constitute religion itself, but only the means, with divine grace, of possessing and practising it.

There is not less misrepresentation and vulgar prejudice in what you assert concerning the foundation of our ancient monasteries, namely. that this "was thought the highest degree of religious merit, and the most certain attonement for sins;"† and that "persons of the most profligate and lawless, as well as others of more worthy characters, thought they could atone for their sins, and secure their salvation, by establishing and endowing such foundations."‡ Without any intentional disrespect, permit me, Sir, here to observe, that I should hope gratitude would lead you to admit, that there was some merit in the foundation and endowment of one convent, at least, I mean St. Swithun's Priory of Winchester, on the remains of which you, Sir, have been for so many years liberally supported, especially as I am sure you will agree with me, that there neither is now, nor ever has been since the period of the Reformation, a sufficiency of religious zeal in the community, or individuals, to erect and endow our cathedral, if this had not been already done by the piety of our Catholic ancestors. With respect to the abovementioned hackneyed charge of redeeming sins, by building churches and monasteries, I say, that the justice of it is not to be determined by the style of certain charters, but by the public doctrine of the church, contained in her canons, and in the writings of her fathers and doctors, which was the same formerly as it is now, and as far as I can judge,

* P. 34.

† P. 31.

‡ P. 35.

the same as that of Protestants of the present day, with respect to the merit of religious and charitable establishments in general.

But the point at issue between us may perhaps be better illustrated by historical facts, than by theological reasoning. You will recollect, then, that my History relates in what manner the cathedral church and cloister were surrounded with fortifications, to secure them from the incursions of the Danes, by our Saxon monarch Ethelbald, at the entreaty of our patron saint Swithun * But did the holy bishop admit this meritorious work by way of compensation for the criminal intercourse in which Ethelbald was living with his mother-in-law, Judith? No, Sir, he required of the king to dismiss the object of his passion, and to repair the scandal which he had given, by condign penance ;† and both the bishop and the king are more extolled, by the monkish writers themselves, for their respective shares in the latter, than in the former transaction.— I likewise mentioned the foundation of two famous convents in this neighbourhood, Wherwell and Amesbury, by the beautiful Elfrida. But is it true, that she considered the building and endowment of these, or the prayers that were offered up by their religious inhabitants, as an atonement for her sins, whilst she continued to indulge herself in them? No, Sir, I expressly stated that she, at the same time, abandoned her sinful course, and that withdrawing herself to the former of these solitudes, she spent the remainder of her life in piety and penance ‡ The greatest friend to the monks however, upon English record, was the husband of the lady just mentioned, the renowned king Edgar. He also had certain frailties to expiate ; but did the great patron of a monastic life, St. Dunstan, by whom he was chiefly guided both in his private and in his public conduct, teach him to believe, that his numerous foundations and his ample endowment of monasteries would atone for these sins, and secure his

* Hist. vol. i, p. 222.

† Hist. vol. i. p. 222.

‡ Hist. vol. i. p. 196.

salvation, according to your account of the theology of the time? No, Sir, I have proved, that this famous monk, and legislator of monks, "did not connive at the incontinency of his friend Edgar, any more than he had countenanced the licentiousness of his enemy Edwy," and that it was "through his apostolical reproaches and exhortations, that this illustrious monarch, like another David or Theodosius, undertook a voluntary penance of seven years."* If these several histories, and innumerable others to the same effect, that I could adduce, are authentic; then, Sir, your account of the general ideas and motives of our pious ancestors in founding and endowing monasteries is false, and a libel upon their memory. With respect to our own city, you are aware, Sir, that the most celebrated founder of religious houses in Winchester, is described as a character possessing every virtue, and free from every fault, namely, the illustrious Alfred † At all events then you must allow, that these establishments were not always the compensation for sin, but sometimes the fruit of consummate virtue.

You very candidly acknowledge, that many of the public advantages which I have ascribed to these establishments, whilst they existed amongst us, were actually derived from them, particularly the hospitality exercised in them to travellers, when inns were much less common than they are at present, their supporting the neighbouring poor, ‡ without the aid of

* P. 158.

† He was the chief founder of the royal abbey of Newminster (afterwards Hyde) and of St. Mary's abbey, &c.

‡ P. 36.—Dr. S. inserts a note here, misrepresenting what I have said on the subject of Poor Houses, vol. ii, p. 187, in more respects than one. The truth is, I have not called in question the zeal of magistrates, and other respectable persons, for improving the condition of the poor; I barely enquired whether their efforts have, in every instance, been made in the most judicious manner. 2ndly, I have not indiscriminately condemned all poor houses and houses of industry; on the contrary I am convinced, that such places are necessary in some circumstances, because some poor persons require to be punished. I have only adduced certain arguments against in-

public rates for this purpose, their schools for the education of youth, and their hospitals for the reception of the sick;* but you object to their sanctuaries, to the number of their inhabitants, and to their wealth.† With respect to the privilege of sanctuary, I think we shall not disagree upon that point. I grant that this would have been detrimental, instead of beneficial, in circumstances where the laws were so equitable in themselves, and so justly administered, as they happily are in our own country at present. But, on the other hand, the authority of Scripture must convince you, that this was sometimes advantageous, since it was appointed by the law of God for his people of old;‡ and a little reflection will make you own, that it was highly desirable in times of anarchy, of tyranny, of unsettled laws, and of civil wars, such as that period was when, as I have said, ploughs enjoyed the privilege of sanctuary no less than churches.§ In the second place, if more persons embraced this course of life then were led to it by proper motives, and if the practice of others was found to be widely distant from their institute, these objections will only prove the necessity of those strict laws which the church has enacted in every age against such abuses, and of those frequent reforms of religious orders, which were the general cause, and not that which you have assigned,** of so many different congregations. Lastly, as to the wealth of monasteries, which you think was dispro-

discriminately confining deserving paupers with the undeserving, where this can possibly be avoided. Lastly, I have not made the remotest contrast between the present condition of the poor, and that of the poor before the reformation. I have only compared the mode of providing for the indigent in the aforesaid houses, with the old manner of relieving them in their own cottages, that has now prevailed for above two centuries. My adversaries shew great ingenuity in discovering secret views in the History of Winchester for serving the cause of Popery, which never occurred to me in writing it.

* P. 37.

† P. 38.

‡ Deuteron. xix. 2.

§ Vol. 1, p. 216.

** P. 31.

portioned and excessive ; we know that small capitals, by regular habits of industry and œconomy, naturally become great. If, however, the income of any of them exceeded the real demands of a moderate subsistence, and of those charities, to which you admit they were generally applied, we all know, that the surplus might, and frequently has been, by due authority diverted into other channels of piety or public use. One thing is evident, and speaks highly in favour of these establishments, considered in a moral and political light, namely, that villages, towns, and cities arose, increased, and flourished round most of our great abbeys ; as for example, those of Rumsey, Beaulieu, Amesbury, Croyland Peterborough, Ely, Durham, and Westminster itself.*

It seems extraordinary, that amongst the practices of a monastic life, you should object to the observance of silence at stated times, “as the height of folly and superstition.”† It was natural to expect, that the example of Pythagoras, and other ancient sages, who imposed a still more rigorous silence upon their disciples than the one in question, as the first requisite to the study of philosophy, would have exempted this practice from the imputation of folly ; and it was still more natural to conclude, that the many forcible passages of holy writ, particularly in the sapiential books, and in the Epistle of St. James, would have saved it from that of superstition.‡ The ascetics, as well as the philosophers, considered a certain degree of silence, not only as useful to restrain the vices of the tongue, but also to receive the impression, and to understand the sense, of the lessons to which they applied themselves. It is proper however, to inform you, Sir, of what you seem ignorant, that the strictest ascetics were acquainted with the maxim of the wise man : *There is a time for being silent, and a time for*

* All the cities here alluded to were absolute solitudes, before monastries were erected upon the site of them. -

† P. 41.

‡ Proverbs, x, 29, xi, 12. xxv, 28. Psalm cxxxix, 13. St. James i, 19—26.

speaking ;* and were convinced, that it was their duty to make use of their speech, as often as it was necessary for their own, or their neighbours' relief, advice, instruction, or consolation.

But what can equal my surprise to find a divine of the church of England reckoning fasting and abstinence amongst the ascetic works, "that answer no moral purpose,† and that are to the last degree unmeaning and childish."‡ I will not fill my pages with the explicit and forcible authorities that I might alledge from the writings and practice of all the fathers and celebrated writers of the ancient church, since the days of the apostles down to the present time, on the advantages and necessity of fasting, as it concerns Christians in general ; but will content myself with referring you to the most approved authors and to the public doctrine of your own. Consult then the learned works on this subject of your celebrated prelates, Patrick,§ Beveridge,** and Gunning.†† See what is expressed in *The Whole Duty of Man* concerning the obligation of observing the stated fasting days throughout the year, as well as those on special occasions, "both by afflicting the body, in abstinence from meat, and in humbling the soul." Take notice of the proofs there brought from scripture, that fasting ought to accompany repentance, that it is in the nature of a punishment for former excesses, and that to overcome a certain dangerous passion, in particular, it is adviseable to use fasting as well as prayer.‡‡ Turn next to the Book of Homilies, which, by due authority, is appointed to be read by you in churches, where the following passage, amongst others equally express on this point, occurs : "That we ought to fast is a truth more manifest than that it should here

* Eccles. iii, 7.

† P. 40.

‡ P. 41,

§ On Repentance and fasting.

** Codex, Can. Ecc. Prim.

†† On the Paschal or Lent Fast.

‡‡ Part ii, § 21. P. v, § 34. P. vii, § 24.

need to be proved, the scriptures which teach the same are evident ;” and where the following moral effect is ascribed to it: “The first end of fasting which rendereth it profitable to us or accepted of God—is to chastise the flesh, that, it be brought in subjection to the spirit, &c.* Finally, look at *The Table of the Vigils, Fasts, and Days of Abstinence, to be observed in the year*, prefixed to *The Book of Common Prayer*, which amount in all to nearly one third part of the whole year. You may say of this, as you have said of the sketch of practices mentioned above, that “it is not very inviting;” nevertheless, it is the Church of England that presents it to your veneration and your practice, in conformity with the doctrine and the example of all the illustrious servants of God recorded in scripture,† and of Christ himself‡ Perhaps you will say, that it is to the abstinence or distinction of food you particularly apply the epithets of “unmeaning and childish.” In answer to this I must observe, that days of abstinence, no less than fasting days, are enjoined in the Common Prayer Book ; that the first prohibition recorded in the Old Testament § and one of the first that occurs in the New, regard a distinction of food,** and that the whole law of Moses is full of these distinctions. I grant there were superstitions in the very infancy of the church on this head, particularly that of certain persons who held particular kinds of food to be impure, as proceeding from the evil principle,†† but I find that those enlightened prelates, who joined with the apostles‡‡ in condemning this superstition, carried their own practice of abstinence so far as to confine themselves to

* Homily on Good Works and Fasting.

† Dan. ix, 3. Joel ii, 12. Jonas iii, 5. St. Mat. ix, 15, xii. 20, &c.

‡ St. Mat. iv, 2.

§ That of the forbidden fruit. Gen. ii, 17.

** The precept of abstaining from blood. Acts xv, 29.

†† The Ebionites and other Gnostics, and afterwards the Manichæans.

‡‡ 1 Tim. iv, 3.

the mere use of bread or other dry meats,* on the days of their stricter fast.

You begin and end your dissertation, Sir, on clerical celibacy with just panegyrics, in prose and verse, upon matrimony, and with unjust reflections on the Catholic church for having, as you alledge, prohibited and dishonoured it. The truth is, this church prohibits no persons from marrying; she only requires that those, who have freely taken upon themselves a vow of celibacy, should keep that vow, having learnt from St. Paul the heinousness of violating it† I grant, however, that she gives the preference to those, amongst her candidates for holy orders, who make choice of this engagement; the reasons for which I shall afterwards discuss. On the other hand, so far from degrading matrimony, she is distinguished amongst other communions for the honours which she pays to it. You are not ignorant, Sir, that our church ranks matrimony amongst the sacraments of the new law, requiring the same pious dispositions in the parties who enter into it, as in those who approach to the Lord's Table. You are not ignorant, that she deems so awfully and mysteriously of this solemn contract, as absolutely to prohibit persons who have engaged in it from ever violating it, on any pretext whatsoever, during the life-time of their partners; thus strictly conforming to the injunction of our Saviour: *what God hath joined together, let not man put asunder.*‡ The fatal consequence of disregarding this precept is

* Called *ἐναφύρια*.

† *The younger widows refuse; for when they have begun to wax wanton in Christ, they will marry; having damnation, because they have cast off their first faith.* 1 Tim. v. 11, 12. [the great St. Chrysostom writing to one who had attempted to take a wife after making a vow of continency, thus expresses himself: "I grant that marriage is honourable, and the bed undefiled; but it is no longer in your power to embrace that state. Though you a thousand times call what you have done marriage, I maintain it to be adultery, and so much the worse in its kind as God is preferable to human creatures." Chrys. ad Theodor. Lapsum

‡ St. Mat. xix, 6.

too publicly displayed in the scandalous and preconcerted crimes of the present age.

Let me now look back to the occasion of the present question between us. The series of my History having led me to relate that remarkable change which took place in Winchester-cathedral during the reign of king Edgar, by which monks were substituted to the secular canons, who had, for some time before, served it, in consequence of the incorrigible incontinency of the latter; and it appearing that the generality of modern authors have conspired to palm a falsehood on the public, in making them believe, that the secular clergy, before this period, namely, the latter end of the tenth century, were every where left at liberty by the church laws to take wives, like other men; I could not, consistently with my plan, avoid exposing and confuting so egregious an error. This I performed by a pretty ample dissertation on clerical celibacy,* in which, by express references to ancient councils, fathers, and ecclesiastical writers, I demonstrated that the higher orders of the clergy, viz. bishops, priests, and deacons, were obliged, from the very infancy of the church, to observe the law of continency,† that this law was introduced with Christianity itself amongst our Saxon ancestors, at the end of the

* Vol. i, pp. 163, 164, 165.

† It is proper to add, that amongst the councils, cited in my note, vol. i, p. 163, one of them, viz. the second of Carthage, held A. D. 428, testifies, that the law of celibacy was derived from the apostles. "*Ita placuit et condecet sacrosanctos antistites et Dei sacerdotes, nec non et levitas, vel qui sacramentis divinis inserviunt continentes esse in omnibus, quo possint simpliciter quod a Deo postulant impetrare; UT QUOD APOSTOLI DOCUERUNT et ipsa seavavit antiquitas nos quoque custodiamus:—Ab universis episcopis dictum est; omnibus placeat ut episcopi, presbyteri, diaconi, et qui sacramenta contrectant, pudicitie custodes, etiam se ab uxoribus contineant.*" 2d Concil. Carthag. cap. 3.—Amongst the testimonies of ancient fathers, I omitted to mention that of Origen of Alexandria, who was born in the year 185, and who holds much the same language with that which I quoted from Bede: "*Illius est solius offerre Deo sacrificium qui indesinenti et perpetuo se devoverit castitati.*" Orig. Homil. 23, in Numeros.

sixth century, by St. Augustine and our other apostles ; that the obligation of it was frequently confirmed by synods held in this and other countries, in every age down to the present ; that, however frequent the violation of it was in certain ages and countries, particularly during the tenth and eleventh centuries,* so far from being sanctioned or tolerated. this was constantly censured and opposed by the church, which, on one occasion; went so far as to invalidate, as far as this was possible, all ecclesiastical functions performed by clergymen, who did not lead continent lives.†

It is plain, that these proofs of the antiquity of ecclesiastical celibacy, and this detection of the opposite error, are extremely grating to you. But in what manner do you attempt to invalidate them ? Do you deny the weight or authenticity of my authorities ? No. Do you confront them with other canons and quotations from the fathers of equal antiquity and authenticity ? No. The truth is, you have nothing to oppose to positive evidence, on a point of history, but fanciful conjectures and speculations. The substance of these is what you have before asserted, viz. that the law of celibacy originated in the policy of the Popes, who detached the clergy from social connections, in order to make them the tools of their ambition ‡— But, Sir, you will recollect, that my vouchers for this celibacy go far beyond the the period which you have assigned for the commencement of papal ambition, and extend to countries where the Pope's supremacy was frequently resisted, and in the end, rejected. In one word, Sir, I must remind you again, that you have produced no authority, either in opposition to my

* [The learned Fleury says, that the first instance he has been able to discover of a Catholic priest who pretended to marry after his ordination took place, in the year 893, and in the person of one Angelric, of the village of Vasnau, in the diocese of Chalons. It appears, however, that the people proceeded to violence against him for this unheard of attempt, and that his bishop excommunicated him. Hist. Ecc. l. LIV. § 20. See also Dissert. Hist. from 600 down to 1100.]

† Mat. Paris, an. 1124. Thom. Walsingham.

• Pp. 27, 42, 44, &c.

proofs, or in support of your own revolting theory, except the ludicrous rhymes of an irreligious and obscene poet, in the twelfth century,* and the forged speech of a cardinal in the sixteenth.†

* P. 43, Dr. S. has quoted too much of the jocose verses, as he calls them, of Walter de Mapes, both for the gravity of the subject and of his own character. He has, however, very prudently suppressed some of the more indecent and irreligious amongst them, as well as those which confess the reprobate and self-convicted character of the poet. Of this latter sort are the following stanzas :

“ Mihi est propositum in taberna mori.
Vinum sit appositum morientis ori :
Ut dicant cum venerint angelorum chori ;
Deus sit propitius huic potatori.

Poculis accenditur animi lucerna ;
Cor imbutum nectare volat ad superna.
Mihi sapit dulcius vinum in taberna
Quam Quod aqua miscuit præsulis pincerna.

Via lata gradior more juventutis ;
Implico me vitiis immeror virtutis ;
Voluptatis avidus, magis quam salutis ;
Mortuus in anima curam gero cutis.”

Camden's Remains, p. 333.

After all, the learned Pitsius gives us good reason to doubt whether these, and other profane verses, ascribed to Walter de Mapes by Camden, Thomas Warton, Dr. S. &c. are his genuine composition. For it seems a certain literary impostor called Goliath fathered many of his rhymes upon Mapes. De Illust. Ang. Script. p. 283.

† The accurate and faithful Pallavicini, who wrote, from the original memoirs of the council of Trent preserved in the castle of St. Angelo, his victorious confutation of Father Paul's spurious history of the same council, has proved, that no such consistory was held as that in which cardinal Rodolpho Pio is introduced as making the inconsistent speech which Dr. S. after F. Paul, ascribes to him. Hist. Concil. Trid. lib. xv. c. 14. [Dr. S. having quoted this note in his second edition, p. 99, says : “ which is the true account must depend on the authority of the respective historians.”—I am content to put the question on this issue, provided the truly learned and impartial are to decide upon it. Persons of this description know that

But however ancient and inviolable the church laws may have been, on the head of clerical celibacy, you maintain, in a long dissertation, that they are impracticable, and therefore nugatory and invalid. "The impulse of nature," you say, "by which we are led to form connections with the other sex, is one of the most powerful that belongs to us....it cannot be suppressed, but might have been regulated."* You add, "No authority, no laws, no decrees could counteract this strong propensity of our nature....which may be guided, but will not be compelled: to regulate her impulses is wise, to suppress them altogether is impossible, and therefore it is absurd and immoral to attempt it."† All this, according to the plain sense of the words and the tenor of your argument, means that it is possible for a human being to lead a chaste life with the help of matrimony, but not without it.—Such coarse ideas expressed in language equally coarse, I had indeed met with in the works of the renegade friar, Martin Luther; ‡ but I little expected

Pallavicini ever supported a high character for integrity both as a man and a writer, and that, besides the falsehood in question, he has detected others to the number of several hundreds in the work of the Venetian friar. On the other hand they are acquainted with the intriguing and hypocritical character of the latter, which has in part been exposed above. His work entitled *The Prince*, which has been translated into French by Marsy, is a perfect counterpart to that of Machiavel under the same title. In this he advises his countrymen, the Venetians, to employ poison against certain powerful persons of Italy, whom they could not take off with the sword.

* P. 45.

† P. 48.

‡ "Porro caste et integre vivere tam non est in manu nostra quam omnia alia Dei miracula." Luther ad Wolfgan. Reisenbush. tom. vii, fol. 505. Edit. Wittomb. "Ut non est in meis viribus situm, ut vir non sim, tam non est mei juris ut absque muliere sim. Rursum ut in tua manu non est ut fœmina non sis, sic nec est in te ut absque viro degas." "Verbum hoc crescite et multiplicamini non est præceptum sed plusquam præceptum; divinum puta opus, quod non est nostrarum virium ut impediatur vel omittatur, sed tam est necessarium quam ut masculus sim, et majis necessarium quam edere, bibere, pur-

to find them in the writings of a person of your reflection and decorum. For are you sensible, Sir, what a charge of incontinency you here bring against innumerable persons of both sexes, who for want of fortune, of health, of beauty, or on account of their situation in colleges, in the army and navy, of their social duties to parents, children, &c. or even of their elevated birth and rank in life, are just as much as the clergy and religious of the Catholic church precluded from entering into matrimonial engagements? Is it impossible, in all these, "to suppress the impulse of nature, which tends to a connection with the other sex, as you intimate? Is it in them absurd "and immoral even to attempt it?"

Regardless nevertheless of consequences, however absurd and alarming, you proceed to establish this scandalous theory of the impracticability of continence, by the following singular reasoning: "Laws to be effectual, must be conformable to our nature and founded on good sense: if they are not such, they in a great measure defeat themselves. Power may, to a certain degree, compel obedience to them; but they will be continually eluded and eluded with impunity. When they shock our natural and general feelings, humane and reasonable men would rather let the transgressor go unpunished, than be punished with what appears to them disproportionate severity; or for a fault which, considering natural infirmities, he could hardly help committing. They are ready to lay the blame on the unreasonable law, rather than on the unfortunate, though

gare, mukum emungere," &c. Luther. Sermo de Matrimon. tom. v, fol. 119. [The first priest amongst the reformers who ventured to marry was Carlostad. This happened in 1524, on which occasion a new mass was composed and published by them, of which the Introit was: "Dixit Dominus: non est bonum hominem esse solum, &c. and the collect ran as follows: O Lord, who, after so long a blindness of unmarried priests, hast bestowed such grace upon blessed Andrew Carlostad, that, contemning papal laws, he hath presumed to take a wife; bring to pass that all other priests may follow his example, &c."—Examen. of J. Fox, by Parsons, vol. i, p. 129. Ez Cochlaro, ad an. 1525.

perhaps not quite innocent transgressor.”* I own, Sir, I am astonished, and almost ashamed, to hear such language as this, and on such a subject, from you, who are both a divine and a magistrate. In fact, what an apology have you here offered for the conduct of every wanton girl who elopes from the just restraint of her parents or guardians, of every unfaithful wife who dishonours her husband, whilst he is fighting the battles of his country in a distant clime, and of every libertine by profession! I hardly think, that a counsellor at the bar would repeat the passage, which I have just quoted, in excuse for his offending client; certain I am, that it would not pass without reproof from the guardian of morality on the bench. It is true, you make this apology particularly for those of the Catholic clergy, who violate their vowed continence; but it is evidently seen to hold equally good in behalf of every description of offenders against the laws of chastity, who can plead the strength of their passions, and the restraints they lie under from the use of the natural remedy.

Do not however mistake me, Sir, as if I made light of that domestic enemy, the force of whom St. Paul himself, after all his extacies, seems to have stood in fear of,† or as if I denied that a great many of those, particularly in the tenth and eleventh centuries, who had taken upon themselves the vow of celibacy, lived in a scandalous violation of it. The chief difference between our opinions is, that you suppose laws of this nature to be absolutely impracticable, whilst I maintain that, by making use of the proper means for this purpose, with the help of God, they may be, as they have been by thousands and myriads in every age, faithfully observed.‡ These means are precisely the

* P. 46.

† 11 Cor. xii, 7.

‡ Dr. S. declares, that his mind *shrinks* from the idea of irrevocable engagements of continency, and, in conformity with the vulgar opinion on that head, supposes that those persons of *the other sex* who have entered into them are the victims of *misery and despair*, p. 46, 47. Let us however judge from

practices against which you have protested above, namely, fasting,* assiduous prayer, retirement as far as each one's station will permit from the allurements of the world, and other exercises of piety and mortification, such as St Paul himself made use of for the same purpose.†

Could you admit the possibility of continency, you do not seem to dispute its propriety and advantages with respect to the clergy.‡ particularly in those points, in which it is commended by St. Paul,§ Origen, Bede,** and the first act of parliament that tolerated their marriage in this kingdom.†† You agree

facts, not from suppositions. Among the many thousand persons of this description, whom that harbinger of the Revolution, the emperor Joseph II, turned out of their convents, none went forth willingly, and some died embracing their thresholds and door-posts. I have opportunities of knowing, that at the distance of some years from that period, not one among them all had shewn by her conduct that she repented of the vows she had made. The same in general may be said of the French nuns, though the authors of the Revolution were at considerable pains to propagate a contrary opinion.

* In addition to the authorities from the Homilies, &c. above stated, I may add that of a Pagan poet, who was an experienced judge in these matters: *Sine Baccho et Cerere frigit Venus.* Ovid de Remed. Amor.

† 1 Cor. ix, 27.

‡ "All this is very well, viz. that the time and thoughts of the clergy should be entirely occupied in sacred functions, &c. if you could procure clergy made of materials different from those of which men are composed," &c. p. 44. [It appears that the heretics Jovinian and Vigilantius, who declared themselves enemies of continency so early as the 4th century, argued in much the same manner against it as Dr. S. does, and that St. Jerom opposed to them the practice and law of the church in each of the three great patriarchates of Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria, in which none but those who had embraced a life of continency were admitted to orders: "Episcopi, Presbyteri, Diaconi, aut virgines eliguntur, aut vidui aut in æternum pudici." Ep. 50.]

§ *He that is unmarried careth for the things that belong to the Lord,* &c. 1 Cor. c. vii, 32.

** Hist. vol. i, p. 164.

†† 2 Edw. VI, c. 21. [The preamble of this act states that it would be "better for the estimation of priests and also for

with me also in ascribing the boundless charities, profuse hospitality, and the immortal works of piety and public benefit, by which the great ecclesiastics of ancient times distinguished themselves, (and none more so than the prelates of this see) to their having "no families or lineal posterity who could have a natural claim on their superfluous wealth."* What is this, Sir, but confuting your own argument against the celibacy of the clergy, grounded on the pretence that it loosened their ties with society and the state? What is this but owning, that it is more natural and easy for a continent clergy to become the fathers of their people, especially of the poor, and to be entirely occupied in their sacred functions, than for others, whose thoughts and whose study, must and ought to be devoted, in the first place, to the welfare of their wives and family? The ceremonies and emblems accompanying the consecration of a Catholic bishop are purposely invented to remind him that his church is his spouse, and that his diocesans are his children.

How great an obstacle the incumbrance of a family must be to zealous clergymen of every degree, in the discharge of their duties under many particular circumstances, must be obvious, such as in times of persecution, when religion is to be propagated amongst infidel and barbarous nations, and when any person or number of persons who are dying of infectious dis-

the administration of the gospel for them to live chaste," &c. Queen Elizabeth, in her injunctions to the clergy, dated Aug. 9, 1561, which she caused "to be entered into the statutes of all cathedrals and colleges," made use of the same arguments, as likewise of the "intent of the founders," for prohibiting the marriage of the clergy belonging to them. See the life of Archbishop Parker by Strype, p. 107. She had before, in her general injunctions to the clergy and laity at the beginning of her reign, A. D. 1559, annexed certain conditions of the most disgraceful nature to the marriage of all the clergy. See Bishop Sparrow's collection, p. 77. For the contemptuous manner of her treating the aforesaid archbishop's wife in the visits she paid him, see the *Progresses of Elizabeth*; by Nichols, A. D. 1573.

* P. 37.

tempers require the consolation and helps of religion to support them. A remarkable case of the latter kind, which illustrates my sentiments on this head, has occurred in our city, since you, Sir, and I have been residents in it. When that dreadful contagion raged amongst the prisoners of war, confined in the King's-house about twenty years ago, which carried off so many hundreds of them, together with most of the medical attendants, keepers and other persons who resorted to them, as I have mentioned in my History,* a considerable number of the said prisoners were French Protestants. These earnestly called in their sickness for that attendance from some of the numerous clergy in this city, which they saw administered to the Catholics by one or two priests of their communion. This circumstance, to my certain knowledge, was made known to some of the gentlemen in question; nevertheless the dying Protestants were not attended: in consequence of which several of them desired the assistance of the priests. The answer, which I understand to have been given on a certain application, was this: *We are not more afraid, as individuals, to face death in the discharge of our professional duty, than the priests are, but we must not carry a poisonous contagion into the bosom of our families.* You will remark, Sir, that I do not mention this occurrence, by way of reproach to the clergy of this city, but only by way of argument as to the point in debate, namely, the advantage of clerical celibacy.†

* Hist. vol. ii, pp. 166, 167.

† Another obvious advantage which a continent clergy has over a married clergy is in the case of missions for the conversion of infidels. We have lately seen an expedition of this sort fitted and sent out at an immense expense from this country for the conversion of Otaheite and the neighbouring islands. The missionaries, of course, as many of them as were married, took out their wives with them. The consequence was, that jealousies and quarrels concerning the women soon took place between the savages and their preachers, the latter being obliged to take up arms and “to learn the manual exercise,” in order to restrain the lustful passion of the former, which they were unable to quell by *the sword of the spirit*. See their letter dat-

In fact, I very much doubt, whether my predecessor, the Rev. Mr. Nolan, who actually lost his life in the exercise of this heroic charity, or the other priests who afterwards exposed themselves to the same fate, one of whom was on the very brink of it, would have shewn the courage they did, had their feelings been softened by a natural tenderness for wives and children. The conclusion I think is evident, that however honourable and even holy the state of matrimony is in itself, however necessary it is to the state, and however conformable to the general condition of mankind, still it may be for the benefit of religion, that the small number, who, as Christ says, receive this saying,* and who are called to the exercise of the Christian ministry, should for the sake of their flocks lead continent lives. They can have no other adequate motive for universally subjecting themselves to this restraint, from the Pope himself to a mere subdeacon.

I have the honour, &c.

POSTSCRIPT TO LETTER III.

[The foregoing letter, if I do not greatly deceive myself, contains "many particulars worthy the notice" of Dr. S. to which therefore he was bound, by his own professions, to make some kind of reply.—

ed March 6, 1798, published in the *Courier*, Dec. 18, 1799.— See also *Memoirs of a missionary voyage in the ship Duff*, pp. 81, 85. It has been partly owing to this disadvantage in their ministry that the Protestants never yet have succeeded in converting a single village of infidels to Christianity, whilst the Catholics continue every year to make converts by thousands, and hundreds of thousands, as they have done in all past ages.— See *Nouvelles des Missions Orientales*. Printed by Coghlan, 1797.]

* *St. Mat. xix, 11.*

Such are the arguments, drawn from positive facts and dates, against his favourite theory, which ascribes the institution of an ascetical life and of clerical celibacy to the ambitious policy of the Popes in the middle centuries. Such are the authorities I have deduced from the lives of the saints recorded in Holy Scripture in behalf of these institutions, as likewise the testimonies I have quoted from the homilies and liturgy of the Church of England for certain pious practices connected with them, which he equally condemns. Nevertheless my antagonist is totally silent as to all these particulars. He again repeats to the public his unsupported assertions and inconsistent speculations, and takes no notice of the arguments by which they are overthrown and crushed to atoms — He even does not attempt to explain or palliate those alarming principles which go to prove that all persons who are not engaged in the state of matrimony, and many who are engaged in it, live in a state of incontinency. Instead of contesting these important points with me, he enters into a disquisition whether St. Anthony retired into the desert in the year 270 or in 285, and whether Fra Paolo is to be believed in what he says concerning a foolish speech ascribed to Cardinal Rodolpho Pio, neither of which questions is of the least consequence in the present controversy, and in both of which Dr. S. is mistaken. There is, however, one subject of importance on which he chooses to enlarge in his supplementary notes, though it has hitherto been no matter of dispute between us, because I purposely avoided mentioning it. Speaking of certain respectable English ladies who of late years were violently persecuted on the continent, and stripped of their property by the public enemy, on account of their country, he expresses an emphatical “wish that they may not be allowed to perpetuate their societies here.” p. 105. What Dr. S. really wished, in their regard, is now pretty well understood throughout this and other countries. He wished modest and retired ladies to be liable at all times to the *domiciliary visits* of men and strangers, without the pretence of

existing sedition or immorality for the intrusion. He wished English subjects, all of them loyal in principle and practice, and many of them descended from the best and most ancient families in the nation, to be placed under the alien act, devised against foreign Jacobins, and to be subject to transportation, at the solicitation of their enemies, without conviction of guilt, or previous notice. In a word, he wished to prop his lame arguments on the present question with the authority of the legislature, and finding himself unable to foil his adversary with the weapon of a scholar, the pen, he wished to crush him with the mill-stone of the law. I should not have mentioned a circumstance so disgraceful to the age in which we live, and to the republic of letters, to which both Dr. S. and myself belong, had it been in my power to conceal it. But the records of the debates in both Houses of parliament,* have already published it, as widely as the English tongue is spoken, and will transmit it to posterity, whether I choose it or not.

Let us now attend to the new arguments which the ingenuity of Dr. S. has been able to collect against the communities in question. He says that their continuance is "contrary to the opinions and policy of the country, civil and religious." Without enquiring how far this argument is conclusive between two divines, arguing upon theological grounds; I answer, that it is not contrary but rather agreeable to the *civil* policy and opinions of the country, that every description of subjects should be able to give the most moral and christian-like education possible to their children, and that the general character and conduct of the Catholic ladies will best shew whether the mode of their education was well or ill calculated for this important end.

With respect to a difference in *religious* policy and opinions, if Dr. S. maintains this to be a proper ground for penal statutes, it is manifest that he admits the

* See the debates in the House of Commons, particularly the speech of Mr. Sheridan on the 23d of June, 1800, and those of the House of Lords on the 10th of the ensuing July, as given in the *Star* and other public journals, &c.

principle of persecution in its utmost latitude. He goes on to say, that the existence of the communities "is almost contrary to the express letter of the law," in proof of which assertion he quotes 31 G. III. c. 32. The fact is, it is illegal "to found, endow, or establish any religious order, &c. in this kingdom." But it is lawful for all subjects, to live separately or together in families as suits their circumstances and inclinations, and to say as many prayers in private as they please, whilst they in their public duties are obedient to the laws. Again the laws admit of no constraint, except such as they themselves impose, and they recognise no vows of celibacy, or other religious vows whatever. Hence, if Dr. S. knows of any person or persons in these societies illegally confined, or hindered from marrying, I hope he will exert his authority to restore them to their liberty. In the mean time it is proper to inform him, that the most rigid inquisition upon earth cannot prevent persons from privately making or keeping any mere religious vows, and that such vows were constantly made and kept by very many Catholics in this country during the heat of Queen Elizabeth's persecution, as they had been, in the primitive church, under those of Diocletian and Julian.]

LETTER IV.

SIR,

IF I have been unable to enlarge with the same copiousness and elegance of diction that you have done, on the excellency of charity, and the duty of mutual forbearance, I nevertheless greatly deceive myself, if my HISTORY OF WINCHESTER is not better calculated to promote these virtues, than are your REFLECTIONS ON POPERY.

I have had frequent opportunities of observing, that amongst the many foul caricatures of the religion of our ancestors held up to public view, that which exhibits

it as a sanguinary system, supported by swords and muskets, and surrounded with racks, gibbets, and fires, is the one which has been chiefly successful in inflaming the minds of Englishmen with hatred against it and its professors : a hatred which they do not entertain for the unbaptised Quaker, or the antichristian Socinian, and which has sometimes led them into the extremities of cruelty, from the mere hatred of cruelty.*— Those who feel an interest or a pleasure in exciting this odium are fully sensible of its fatal efficacy.— Hence they are never weary with ringing the changes on the names of John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, on the massacre of Paris, and especially on the fires of Smithfield. For the same uncharitable purpose we find the lying *Acts and Monuments* of John Fox, with large wooden prints of men and women, encompassed with faggots and flames in every leaf of them, chained to the desks of many country churches, whilst abridgements of this inflammatory work are annually issued from the London presses, under the title of *The Book of Martyrs*. In the mean time it is carefully concealed from the knowledge of the public, that Catholics have suffered persecution in this very country to a much greater degree than they have inflicted it, and that even the various sects of Protestants have persecuted each other, on account of their religious differences, to the extremity of death. I complain much more of the information that is withheld from the public, than of that which is communicated to it, even through a false and magnifying medium. For if they knew the whole truth in this matter, I mean the violences that have been exercised on both sides, it would be impossible to excite their indignation exclusively against one party ; and the most prejudiced and inveterate persons would be obliged to enter into those terms of mutual forgiveness, which the Catholics do and must so sincerely wish to see established. For the most avaricious creditor is forced to cancel his bond,

* “Crudelitatis odio in crudelitatem ruitis.” Tit. Liv. l. iii. c. 53.

when he finds that his debtor has a legal demand upon him to the full amount of it.

In some circumstances then, Sir, it may be necessary, even for the sake of peace and conciliation, to enter upon that most odious of topics, religious persecution, and to detail particular instances of it; namely, when such statements contribute to "a right understanding and balancing of accounts in this matter, amongst Christians of different communions, and thereby to the cutting away of one of the most virulent sources of religious animosity" that subsists among them.* Such, I conceive, is the tendency of the account in my History of different acts of persecution that have taken place in this city. The fact is, there is not an individual here, who had not heard a thousand times of the numerous executions of Protestants under Queen Mary, and of the share which our prelate Gardiner had in these bloody scenes. The mutilated state of his monument in the Cathedral, is a striking memorial of the public indignation against him on that account.† But I can venture to say, that not one amongst our citizens had ever heard, until I had occasion to inform them,‡ that their own streets had repeatedly flowed, in the reign of her sister Elizabeth, with the blood of Catholic priests and laymen,§ shed merely for their having practised the religion of Alfred, St. Swithun, and William of Wykeham, and that the Protestant prelates, Horne, Cooper, and Neale, had been in their days active and violent persecutors.

It is for the same conciliatory purpose, Sir, and not for that of reproach or recrimination, that I shall enter more at large into this subject of persecution in the

* Hist. vol. i, p. 380.

† Ibid. vol. ii, p. 58.

‡ Vol. 1, pp. 376, 380, 386.

§ To the list of Catholics residents in or connected with Winchester, who suffered death for their religion under Elizabeth, which is given, Hist. vol. i, p. 380, I must add the name of John Adams, who was apprehended in this city, though he was executed in London, Oct. 8, 1586, merely for exercising his priestly functions. Append. Mem. Miss. Pr.

present letter. For it appears, that you are not yet disposed to enter into the compromise that I proposed, by joining with me in "lamenting the common violences of our forefathers on both sides,"* and dismissing the acrimonious subject of persecution for ever. On the contrary, when you are even forced to admit, that I have a charge of the same sanguinary nature against your friends that you have against mine, you still chicaned with me concerning the number of the respective sufferers, and the nature of their torments. You aggravate your accusation with every instance of severity that has been inflicted on the heterodox or schismatics of former ages, whether on account of their theological errors, or their seditious doctrines. Finally, you implicitly question the sincerity of the censure I have passed on the burnings of Mary's reign, where you profess to tremble for my "orthodoxy" on that account;† thus shewing yourself resolved to make me an abettor of persecution, whether I will or not.

You now proceed to state your charge against the ancient religion, in the following terms: "Mr. M. says, that *persecution was not a tenet of the Roman Catholic religion*. This is somewhat surprising; and, if it be true, all of us Protestants must have been long under a most egregious mistake."‡ It is true, Sir, you are under an egregious mistake, with respect to the real tenets of Catholics in this, and in most other articles, and it is the subject of their glory, that their religion never yet was attacked by any adversary who did not begin by misrepresenting it. But it seems, you profess to prove the point in question, viz. that persecution is a tenet of their faith; from the fact of their having persecuted heretics in all parts of Europe, from the decrees of councils, the declarations of Popes, the establishment of tribunals, and the assertions of writers of the highest authority with them. I now, Sir, undertake to answer you on

* Vol. i, pp. 379, 380.

† P. 57.

‡ P. 52.

each one of these heads, after lamenting that it unavoidably requires more leisure and pains to refute calumnies; than it does to advance them.

In the first place, if the mere fact of Catholics having used violence against persons of a different communion, were a proof that persecution is a tenet of their faith, as you argue, this would clearly prove, that the same doctrine equally makes part of the creed of almost all denominations of Protestants. It cannot be effaced from the records of history, that wherever the reformers of the 16th and 17th centuries became the triumphant party, not content with the free exercise of their own religion, they violently overturned that of their ancestors, and carried on the most severe and oppressive persecution against those who continued to adhere to it.* This was the case in England,† Scotland,‡ France,§

* C. Pettersen Hooft urges with great spirit the whole passage of Livy, referred to above, by way of reproach to his Protestant countrymen of Holland, for the early proofs of religious intolerance which they had shewn: "Libertati præsidia quærentes non licentiæ ad impugnandum alios. Crudelitatis odio in crudelitatem ruitis, et ante pene quam ipsi liberi sitis, dominari jam in adversarios vultis." Hist. Ref. Ger. Brand. t. i, p. 333.

† Hist. vol. i, p. 380, &c.

‡ The Reformation may be said to have begun there, by the assassination of cardinal Beaton, in which Knox was a party, and to which Fox, in his *Acts and Monuments*, says, the murderers were instigated "by the spirit of God." In 1560 the parliament at one and the same time, decreed the establishment of Calvinism and the punishment of death against the ancient religion. "With such indecent haste," says Robertson "did the very persons who had just escaped ecclesiastical tyranny proceed to imitate the example." Hist. of Scotl. See also the answer of the presbytery to the king and council, in 1596, concerning the Catholic earls of Huntley, Errol, &c. viz. that "as they had been guilty of idolatry, a crime deserving of death, the civil power could not spare them."

§ In France, it is well known, that wherever the Huguenots carried their victorious arms against their sovereign, they prohibited the exercise of the Catholic religion, slaughtered the priests and religious, burnt the churches and convents, dug up the dead to make bullets of their leaden coffins, &c. See

Ireland,* Germany, the Low Countries,† Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, Geneva, &c. though in different manners, and with different degrees of violence. I have shewn, that the several sects of Protestants have, in many places and upon principle, persecuted each other to the extremities of

Maimbourg, Hist. Calvinism. Thuanus, Hist. l. xxxi. One of their own writers, Nic. Froumentau, confesses, that in the single province of Dauphiny they killed 256 priests and 112 monks or friars. Liv. de Finance. In these scenes the famous baron D'Adrets signalized his barbarity, forcing his Catholic prisoners to jump from the towers upon the pikes of his soldiers, and obliged his own children to wash their hands in the blood of Catholics.

* The penal laws were in general no less severely exercised against the Catholics of Ireland though they constituted the body of the people, than they were against those of England, Dr. Curry, amongst a great many other sufferers in the same cause has preserved the names of 27 priests, or religious, who suffered death on account of their religion in the reign of Elizabeth. Hist. of Civil Wars of Ireland, vol. i, p. 8. [Spondanus and Pagi relate the horrid cruelties exercised by Sir W. Drury, on father O'Kelly, O. S. F. the Catholic bishop of Mayo who falling into the hands of this sanguinary governor in the year 1579, was first tortured by his legs being immersed in jack boots, filled with quick lime, water, &c. until they were burnt to the bones, in order to force him to take the oath of supremacy, and then with other circumstances of barbarity, executed at the gallows, together with a religious man, his companion, having previously cited Drury to meet him at the tribunal of Christ within ten days, who accordingly died within that period, amidst the most excruciating pains.]

† Dr. S. speaks with horror of the persecution of the Protestants in the Low Countries by the duke of Alva, who, he says, p. 67, "boasted that he had delivered 18,000 heretics (he should have said *heretics* or *rebels*, see Brandt) to the executioners." I heartily join with him in condemning and executing the sanguinary vengeance of the Spanish governor and government against their seditious subjects of the Calvinistical persuasion; but to form an adequate judgment in this case, it is proper to attend to the provocations which they had received from them. Not to mention then the conspiracy of Carli and Risot to assassinate the duke of Alva himself, at the monastery of Groonfelt, near Brussels, it is certain, that one class of the Reformers had endeavoured to erect the same fanatical and bloody kingdom in Holland, which John of Leyden actually es-

exile, perpetual imprisonment, and death.* I think,

published at Munster, crying out, that *God had given up the country to them, and that vengeance awaited all who did not join them.* It was an ordinary thing amongst them to assault the clergy in the discharge of their functions, and the air resounded with their cries, of *kill the priests, kill the monks, kill the magistrates.* These violences became more common as the Reformation extended itself wider. Wherever Vandermerk, or Sonoï, both of them lieutenants to the prince of Orange, carried their arms, they uniformly put to death in cold blood, all the priests and religious they could lay their hands upon, particularly at Oudenard, Ruremond, Dort, Middlebourg, Delft, and Shonoven. See Hist. Ref. des Pays Bas, by the Protestant minister de Brandt, also Dr. Patinson in his Jerusalem and Babel, p. 385, &c. A celebrated biographer, still living, Feller, Hist. Abreg. tom. i, art. Toledo, says, that Vondermerk slaughtered more unoffending Catholic priests and peasants in the year 1572, than Alva executed Protestants during his whole government. He gives us in the same place a copious extract from L'Abregé de l'Hist. de L'Hollande, par Mons. Kerroux, in which this Protestant author, who professes to write from judicial records still extant, draws a most frightful picture of the infernal barbarities of Sonoï on the Catholic peasants of North Holland. He says that some of these, after undergoing the torments of scourges and the rack, were enveloped in sheets of linen that had been steeped in spirits of wine, which being inflamed they were miserably scorched to death; that others, after being tortured with burning sulphur and torches in the tenderest parts of their bodies, were made to die for want of sleep, executioners being placed on guard over them to beat and torment them, with clubs and other weapons, whenever exhausted nature seemed ready to sink into forgetfulness; that several of them were fed with nothing but salt herrings, without a drop of water or other liquid, until they expired with thirst; finally that others were stung to death by wasps, or devoured alive by rats, which were confined in coffins with them. Amongst the cruelties there recounted some will not bear repeating, and those which occur above are only mentioned, to induce Dr. S. and other writers of his class to join with me in burying the odious names of Alva and Sonoï in equal oblivion.

* Hist. vol. i, p. 357.—Amongst the more illustrious foreign Protestants, who suffered death by the violence of other Protestants, it may be proper to mention the names of Servetus, Gentilis, Felix Mans, Rotman, Barnevald, &c. not to mention Bolsec, Grotius, &c. who were banished or otherwise persecuted for their religious opinions. The following is a more circumstantial account of the persecution, which some Protestants

Sir, by this time you will grant, that mere acts of per-

have exercised upon others in this country, than is contained in the passage above quoted. In the reign of Edw. VI, viz in the year 1550, six Anibaptists were condemned by archbishop Cranmer, some of whom recanted and carried faggots, in sign of their having merited burning, and one of them, Joan Knell, was actually burnt alive. The following year, George Paris was condemned, and suffered in the same manner. Stow, During the reign of Elizabeth, in the year 1573, Peter Burchet, a gentleman of the Middle Temple, was examined on the score of heresy by Edw. Sands, bishop of London, but recanted his opinions. In 1575, twenty-seven heretics were at one time, eleven at another, and five at a third, condemned for their errors, chiefly by the same bishop. Of these twenty were whipped and banished, others bore their faggots, and two of them, John Pettersen and Henry Turwort, were burnt to death in Smithfield. In 1583, John Lewis, "for denying the Godhead of Christ," says Stow, was burned at Norwich; at which place, also Francis Kett, M. A. suffered the same kind of death, for similar opinions, in 1589. Two years afterwards William Hacket was hanged for heresy, in Cheapside. Five others suffered death in this reign for being Brownists, viz. Thacker, Copping, Greenwood, Barrow, and Penry. The above particulars may be seen in Stow, Brandt, Limborch, Collier, Neal, &c. Under James I, Legat and Whitman were executed for Arianism. In the time of Charles I, the Dissenters complained loudly of their sufferings, and particularly that four of their number Leighton, Burton, Prynne, and Bastwick, were cropped of their ears and set in the pillory. Limborch, Hist. of Inquis. Neal, &c. When the Presbyterians afterwards got the upper hand, they continued to put Catholics to death, and they treated those of the former establishment with almost equal severity; at the same time appointing days of humiliation and fasting to beg God's pardon for not being more intolerant. See Neal, Hist. of Puritans, also Hist. of churches of Engl. and Scotl. vol. iii, &c. The editor of De Laune's *Rea for Non-Conformists*, says, that the latter was one of 8000 Protestant Dissenters, who, "perished in prison in that single reign, (viz. of Charles II) merely for dissenting from the church." Pref. p. 2. He adds that one of their people, Mr. White, had carefully collected a list of the sufferings of the Dissenters; that the Catholics, in the reign of James II, offered him bribes to obtain this list: that he rejected the offer, to prevent the black record from rising up in judgment against the church, and that the dignified prelates sent thanks and money to Mr. White in reward for his services."—For the capital punishments and other sufferings of the Quakers, see *Pen's Life of George Fox*, folio.

secution do not of themselves prove a persecuting creed, especially after you have considered, that the severities in question were taken up by one party in its very infancy, and by the other at a far advanced period of its existence. In fact, Sir, if the doctrine and practice of persecution were an essential constituent in the religion of our ancestors, as you repeatedly assure us they were, it was incumbent on you to trace them up to the commencement of Popery, at whatever period you may choose to fix this æra.* We know there have not been wanting, in every century, different heresies and schisms, which have been condemned as such by the church ; but (to speak only of the middle ages) we observe, that neither Felix of Urgel, nor Gotescalc, nor Berengarius, nor Abelard, nor Marsilius of Padua, nor our Wycliff, was sentenced to any corporal sufferings by the church, when she condemned their respective errors, during the ages of her greatest power. We shall shortly see on what occasion, and by what authority, this kind of punishment was resorted to in matter of religion.

You now proceed to general councils, on which head you are content to acknowledge yourself under obligations to Dr. Rennell for so common and hackneyed a quotation as the 3d canon of the 4th Lateran Council,† held in 1215, which excommunicated all heretics, and ordered that they should be delivered up to the secular power to undergo due punishment, and that the latter should be obliged, under pain of ecclesiastical censures and the loss of their lands, to extir-

* Nothing has proved so embarrassing to controvertists as to fix the period of Popery's commencement ; some carrying it up to the time of Pope Silvester, at the beginning of the fourth century ; others bringing it down to the days of Gregory VII, in the eleventh century. Strange it must seem to every reflecting person, that so remarkable a change as that by which the kingdom of Christ is supposed to have revolted against him and become the kingdom of Antichrist, should not have been perceptible at the time when it happened, or be capable of being fixed at any time since !

† Dr. S. p. 53, erroneously quotes " the 8th chapter," &c. for the third canon, &c.

pate all heretics resident upon them. - These are the most material clauses of the canon, which Dr. Rennell gives at length ; who adds that " no Roman Catholic can disclaim one tittle of it,"* and that " the titular bishop of Waterford has lately given a comment upon it, by which he admits it in all its latitude."† But what would you and Dr. Rennell say, if

* Sermon at Cambridge, July 1, 1798, p. 50.

† P. 54.—As I do not wish, either from resentment or policy, to impede the progress of that gentleman in his professional career, I shall not here take notice of any part of his inconsistent and unchristian language and behaviour, with respect to Catholics and their religion, except what he himself has chosen to make public. It is notorious then to Dr. S. and the other inhabitants of Winchester, that Dr. R. during a long course of years manifested the greatest respect and partiality for both of these : that he openly countenanced with his presence the most obnoxious ceremonies and services of the religion in question ; that his house was for a long time crowded with the French emigrant clergy, to whose religious opinions he drew so close, that they constantly spoke of him as of a man who was in his heart of their persuasion ; finally, that he opposed their quitting the King's-house, for the purpose of turning it into barracks, when the rest of the inspectors were content that this measure should take place. But let us hear him speak for himself on the merits of the French clergy and of the religion for which they suffer : " As the author has been led to an incidental mention of those afflicted men, the venerable college of French ecclesiastics inhabiting the King's-house, Winchester, he cannot but observe, that he feels himself irresistibly called upon to pay that homage to their virtues, which a close observation of their character, and an extended acquaintance with many individuals amongst them, have enabled him to do, in the course of his discharge of his duty as inspector of the house, an office with which, in conjunction with six other gentlemen of the place, he has been honoured by the committee of subscribers. He is persuaded that he speaks the sentiments of all his colleagues in that respectable office when he says, concerning those *persecuted martyrs*, that to their edifying piety, their calm and chearful resignation, their warm and exuberant gratitude, it is impossible to bear too strong a testimony. Great will be the refreshment of every pious observer, that amidst the scenes of guilt and blood, with which the earth is deluged, that amidst the decay of religious principle with which the world abounds, he can find some circumstance of consolation on which he can rest, and that even in these latter times God hath not left himself

I were to follow the account of one of our ancient historians, who denies that these canons in general were the acts of the council itself;* or that of one of your most learned divines, who asserts, that the canon above quoted in particular is spurious?† Without, however, entering into those discussions, it is proper Dr. R. and yourself should both be informed, that there is an essential difference, with respect even to general councils, between defining articles of faith, as those are which condemn the impieties of the Albigenses, in the first canon of this council, and ordering exterior points of discipline, such as those in question are in the 3d canon. The former are considered as immutable truths, and regard the whole church. The lat-

without witness here upon earth," &c. The French Republic founded on blood-guiltiness, a Sermon preached in the Cathed. of Winch. by Thomas Rennell, &c. Oct. 26, 1793, p. 24.—Let this "strong testimony," as Dr. R. calls it, be contrasted with his raving philippics against the same clergy and religion in most of his late sermons, particularly in that preached at St. Paul's May 10, 1796, where, in the true stile of Lord George Gordon, he declaims against "the idolatry and anti-christianism of Popery".....against "the antipathy both of native and foreign Papists, which no benefits can soften".....against "the effects of Roman superstition, in engendering infidel philosophy, jacobinical anarchy, atheism," &c.—Is then that religion which produced *persecuted martyrs, and which refreshed the pious observer with consolation, that amidst the decay of religious principle God hath not left himself without witness here upon earth,* all at once turned into the cause of idolatry, anti-christianism, jacobinical infidelity, and atheism? Are all the virtues of the venerable French ecclesiastics, and particularly their exuberant gratitude, which a close observation of them, and an extensive acquaintance with them, irresistably called him to pay homage to, on a sudden hardened into insensibility, &c.? Or is it that the gale of promotion in favour of Dr. R. appeared to blow from a different quarter formerly, from what it does now?

* Mat. Paris, ad dict. an. [In answer to this account from Mathew of Paris, it is singular that Dr. S. should now refer me to Dupin, Biblioth. tom. x, who cites this very authority, and adopts it to an unwarrantable extent: "Il est certain que ces chapitres ne sont point l'ouvrage du concile, mais celui d'Innocent III. p. 104.]

† Collier's Ecc. Hist. vol. i, p. 424.

ter are frequently limited, with respect both to time and to place, and have no force whatever upon individuals until they are received and published in the several parts of Christendom; by the civil power, in what regards civil matter; and by the ecclesiastical, in what appertains to the church. Thus many exterior ordinances of discipline that were decreed in the last general council of Trent, not having been received in this kingdom, in France, and in many other countries, are not therein considered as obligatory by the strictest Catholics. And thus the canon in question, admitting it to be genuine, and to have been received in some places formerly with respect to the particular case for which it was decreed, has confessedly no force now in any part of the church, as those can testify who have travelled in Catholic countries *. In the next place we observe, with the continuator of Fleury, that the ordinances of this council which regarded temporal matters, such as the corporal punishment of heretics, the disposition of magistrates and feudatory princes, particularly the earl of Toulouse, who was here glanced at, were made with the concurrence of those who had competent authority in these matters. I speak of the different temporal sovereigns of Christendom, most of whom attended this council in person, or by their ambassadors, particularly the emperors of Germany and Constantinople, the kings of England, France, Hungary, Arragon, Sicily, Jerusalem and Cyprus, with a great number of inferior potentates.† Lastly, to speak of the justice of the canon in question, it is to be remembered, that in the catalogue of heresies which have prevailed in different ages, there was one of so impious, so perfidious, and so infamous a nature, and above all so destructive of the human species, that a Pagan government would have betrayed its duty which neglected to extirpate it by fire and the sword. Such were the heretics against whom those severities, which you and Dr. R. com-

* See *The Answer to Abernethy*, by bishop Hay; and Dorrel's *Case stated*, in answer to C. Lesley, &c.

† *Fleury, Hist. Ecc. Contin.* l. lxxvii. § 49.

plain of, were decreed, by a concurrence of the civil and the ecclesiastical power, in the 4th council of Lateran.

The system of which I have been speaking, whatever might be its origin amongst Pagans, was introduced amongst Christians by Cerdon, Marcion,* and other Gnostics, in the age immediately following that of the apostles. The person however who reduced it into form, and was chiefly instrumental in propagating it, was the Persian heresiarch Manes, in the third century. The leading tenet of it was the doctrine of two principles or deities, one the author of good spirits, the New Testament, &c. the other of bad spirits, of the flesh, of the old law, and of the Old Testament. Hence by a necessary consequence, flowed the impieties and abominations above alluded to, which all cotemporary writers, and the judicial acts still extant, prove to have been held by the Manichæans; their denial of Christ's incarnation, their defiling the volumes of the bible and the plate of the altar, their avowed system of perjury, their condemning the use of all animal food as impure, and still more the propagation of mankind, as concurring to the work of the evil deity, whilst they let loose the reins to every sensuality which was not productive of that important end.† This heresy, like most others,

* Tertul. advers. Marcionem.

† St. Augustine, who himself had been nine years engaged in these errors, furnishes the most circumstantial account of the original Manichæans, in Lib. de Hær. and his other writings.—Raimier, a learned writer of the 13th century, gives the most copious account of the later sects of this heresy, in doing which he had the same advantage with St. Augustine, that of having once been himself a follower of it. The most authentic information, however, concerning it, is to be derived from the acts of the council of Albi, held against it in 1176, and from those of the Lateran iii, in 1179, as also from the first canon of the 4th Lateran council, mentioned above, which, in opposition to the Albigenses, defines the existence of one God or first principle, the Creator of all things, and teaches that the Devils were not from all eternity evil, but fell by sin, &c. that persons *may be saved in a state of marriage, as well as in that of celibacy, &c.* [This last declaration of the council in opposition to

branched out into a great variety of sects and assumed different names ; the current, however, of its leading doctrines is clearly traced though the countries which it has principally infected, from the infancy of the church down to a late period in the middle centuries ; some writers even bring it down to the completion of impiety and wickedness which we witness at the present day.* From Persia, and the neighbouring provinces, where it principally prevailed in the early centuries, we pursue it to the mountains of Armenia, where under the name of Paulicians, its adherents carried on long and bloody wars against the emperors of the East, at the close of the ninth century. Its first grand establishment in the West, was in the kingdom of Bulgaria, between the Danube and the Black Sea, then newly converted to the faith. Thence it was translated into France, Italy, and Spain, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, from which circumstance, its adherents obtained the general name of Bulgari, a name which has ever since continued to denote persons addicted to the infamous practices with which they were infected.† They were also called, in different times and places, Albigenses, Poplicoli, Paterini, Cathari, Bogomili, Turlupins, Beghardi,

the errors of the Albigenses is particularly worthy the notice of Dr. S.]

With these accounts agree those of our English historians, particularly Hoveden. *Pars Post. Hen. II, Gervas. Dorob. p. 1441, Ed. Twys. Gul. Neubrig. l. ii, c. 13, Mat. Paris, an. 1215.* The latter mentions in particular, their profanations of the scripture. “*Libros evangeliorum in sentinas projecerunt, et calices cum vasis sacris enormiter dehonestaverunt.*” Even Limborch, in his history of the Inquisition, is obliged to acknowledge the impiety and wickedness of these heretics. The best modern account of them, and of their distinction from the Waldenes, with whom Dr. S. confounds them, p. 60, is to be met with in Bossuet’s *Variations*, b. xi. See also D’Argentré’s copious and authentic records entitled, *Collectio Judiciorum de Novis Erroribus*, &c. vol. 1. p. 48.]

* Abbé Barruel in his *Mem. du Jacobinisme*.

† “*Paterini et Bugares de quorum errore malo tacere quam loqui.*” “*Frater Robertus (qui cognomento Bugre dicebatur) qui ab illo conversus, habitum suscepit prædicatorum.*” *Mat. Paris, an. 1244.*

Brethren of the Free Spirit, &c. all of which are proved to be of the same Manichæan stock, from their holding the discriminating doctrines of that heresy.* In the twelfth century this destructive sect made its appearance in England, but did not succeed there, the apostles of it being abandoned with abhorrence by all mankind.† In was against these pests of society and human nature that fires were first lighted in the West,‡ not however, by a Pope, or other Churchman, but by the religious king of France, Robert, in 1022; and it was to repress and rout out these, when, confiding in their numbers and the power of their protectors, they proceeded to propagate their opinions by the sword, burning down churches and monasteries, and perpetrating indiscriminate slaughter on all ages, degrees, and sexes,§ that the crusade of our Simon de Montford and the Inquisition were set on foot, and that the canons which you and Dr. R. complain of were passed. See, Sir, into what disgraceful company your zeal against Popery, and that of the note-writer in the Pursuits of Literature,** causes you and him to degrade yourselves, and the cause of Protestantism with you, when, on the credit of such superficial modern writers as Mezerai and Sandius,†† you claim kindred

* [A cotemporary poet, William of Britanny, cited by Duchene, Scrip. Hist. Franc. characterizes their errors in the following lines, where he describes the zeal of Philip Augustus against them :

Dehinc perscruttri citius facit hæresiarchas,
Qui bona conjugii reprobant, qui carnibus uti
Esse nefas dicunt....

Quos Popelicanos vulgari nomine dicunt.]

† "Iisdem diebus (an. 1163) erronei quidam venerunt in Angliam, quos vulgo publicanos vocant....baptisma, eucharistiam, conjugium detestantes," &c. Rer. Angl. Gul. Neubrig. l. ii, c. 13.

‡ Fleury, Hist. Ecc. l. 58, § 54. l. 59, § 5. [Duchene, Scrip. Hist. Franc.]

§ See Act Concil. iii, Lateran. Gervas, Dorob. p. 1451, Fleury, d'Argentré, &c.

** Part IV, note upon note to verse 190.

†† Both these writers as well as Dr. S. confound together the two very different sects of Waldenses and Albigenes.—

with the Albigenses.* I am happy, however, on the strength of more ancient and authentic authorities, to disprove the relationship, and to shew that there are few features common to you and them, except your unfortunate prejudice against the original parent-stock, from which you both separated.

From your much lamented persecution of the Albigenses, (to which however we are indebted for the continuance of society and the human race) you pass on to those exercised against Wycliff and Huss, by the

[The Waldenses or Vaudois, in the scale of doctrine and morals, were angels compared with the Albigenses]—[Dr. S. in his second edition p. 138, makes a farther attempt to save the credit of those pests of Christianity and society, the Albigenses on the credit of Thuanus and Allix. But is it not to insult the understanding of scholars, on a point of this nature to oppose the assertions of modern writers to the concurrent testimony of all cotemporary authors English as well as foreign? Is it not to libel every regular government in past ages to reject the judicial records, still extant, on which these monsters were hunted out of society, for no better reason than that they were enemies of the church no less than of the state? With respect to Thuanus in particular, whom Dr. S. cites on this subject with such high commendations of his pretended uprightness and impartiality, I have to observe, that he by no means denies the crimes imputed to the Albigenses; at the same time that his confused and erroneous account of their history and doctrine as connected with the Vaudois, Turlupins, Wickliffites, Hussites, &c.—would be sufficient to destroy his character for historical accuracy in the minds of all well informed persons.]

* Mosheim, speaking of the Albigenses, Turlupins, Begards, or Brethren of the Free Spirit, as they called themselves, in the 13th century, says: "Certain writers, who have accustomed themselves to entertain a high idea of the sanctity of all those who, in the middle ages, separated themselves from the church of Rome, suspect the inquisitors of having attributed falsely impious doctrines to the Brethren of the Free Spirit. But this suspicion is entirely groundless, &c.... Their shocking violation of decency was a consequence of their pernicious system.—They looked upon decency and modesty as marks of inward corruption.... Certain enthusiasts amongst them maintained, that the believer could not sin, let his conduct be ever so horrible or atrocious." Eccles. Hist. vol. iii, p. 284, Maclaine's Translation.—[See also the Protestant Centuriators, and the Dictionary of Cooper, bishop of Winchester, concerning the Albigenses.]

council of Constance. The chief of what you say concerning the former of these, occurs later in your work, where you extol his courage and vigour of mind, excuse his errors, and condemn the impotent vengeance of the council, in causing his bones to be burnt.* A spirit of candour, Sir, would have led you to the discovery of something like toleration in the conduct of your illustrious founder, Wykeham,† and his brethren, who, whilst they condemned Wycliff's errors, left his person unpunished and unmolested during the whole of his life; and an impartial view of the dreadful effects of his doctrine in this and other countries, would have made you see, in the ordinance of the council against his memory and remains, not an act of vengeance, but a wise and salutary instruction to mankind. In Speaking of this doctrine you say, "that there might be some mixture of what was exceptionable in his opinions."‡ Is this, Dr. Sturges, the proper qualifications, particularly in such times as these, for the most seditious and incendiary doctrines that ever were broached in these kingdoms? Which, I pray you, Sir, of the inflammatory orators or writers of the day has approached to the seditious excesses of Wycliff, where he teaches the people, that if they can discover any mortal sin, that is to say, any signal violation of sobriety, chastity, piety, meekness, or humility in their rector, bishop, magistrate, or sovereign, they are at liberty to disclaim his authority,

* P. 75.

† Wykeham was one of the foremost prelates in condemning the errors of Wycliff, who, in his turn, was the tool of the duke of Lancaster, Wykeham's great enemy and persecutor. See Walsingham, Knyghton, Brady, &c. [Walsingham, Stow, and other writers trace Wycliff's innovating doctrines to a spirit of resentment at losing a benefice, which he tried to obtain. Similar to this was the occasion of Huss's dogmatizing. Luther speaks of Wycliff as of a heretic. Melancthon condemns him for sedition against the civil power, and for sophistry against the sacrament. Ep. ad Fred. Micon.]

‡ P. 75.

and depose him if it be in their power? * Which of them has instructed us, that we are not obliged to pay our taxes or our tythes, or to regard any laws or statutes, unless the justice of them can be demonstrated from the scripture? † Which of them has dared to tell our courts of justice, that they cannot lawfully exact an oath from any witness, ‡ or confirm the title of an estate to any person for him and his heirs for ever? § Which of them has proclaimed the sinfulness of the clergy's possessing any temporal property, and has tumultuously called upon the people to assist in despoiling them of it? ** I pass lightly over a great number of other impious and seditious tenets of Wycliff and his chief disciples, John Aston, Nicholas Hereford, William Swynderby, &c. tending to the destruction of all religion, natural as well as revealed, and to general robbery, massacre, and anarchy; such as, that God ought to obey the Devil; †† that all human actions happen by inevitable necessity; †† that literary institutions, such as colleges and universities, are diabolical; §§ that it is unlawful to pray in churches

* "Nullus est dominus civilis, nullus episcopus, nullus prælatus dum est in peccato mortali." *Opiniones et Conclusiones Mag. J. Wycliff. Error. 7. Knyghton, Col. 2648. Walsing. Hist. Ang. p. 283.*

† "Ubi leges humanæ non fundantur in scriptura sacra subditi non tenentur obedire." *Walsing. Ibid.*

‡ "Non licet aliquo modo jurare." "Nam sequela cujuslibet dicti eorum talis erat." *I am syker, It is soth,* &c. *Knyght. Col. 2707.*

§ "Chortæ humanitatis adinventæ, de hæreditate civili perpetua, sunt impossibiles. Deus non protest dare homini pro se et hæredibus suis," &c. *Walsing. p. 204.*

** "Est contra scripturam sacram quod viri ecclesiastici habeant temporales possessiones. *Knyght. Col. 2648.* "Nunquam erit bona pax in regno isto, quousque temporalia ista auferantur a viris ecclesiasticis, et ideo rogabat populum, menibus extensis, ut unusquisque adjuvaret in ista materia." *Walsingham, p. 284.*

†† "Deus debet obedire Diabolo." *Hæres. Wycliff. Knyght. Col. 2648.*

‡‡ Art. 27, Wycl. condemn. In Concil. Constan.

§§ *Ibid. art. 29.*

or to keep holy the Lord's day;* that if ecclesiastics are guilty of any sin, their temporal princes ought to cut off their heads; and that if the prince himself be guilty of sin, it is the business of the people to punish him.†

Nor were the doctrines of Wycliff, to whose "merit, amongst the reformers," you profess so much "respect and gratitude,"‡ of an unproductive nature. By the ministry of his chief apostles, John de Aston, Nicholas de Hereford, William de Swinderby, John Purney, John Straw, John Ball, and others, they were quickly disseminated through the mass of the people;§ and in the short space of four years, from the opening

* Hypodig. Walsing. p. 557.

† "Quod si persona ecclesiastica deliquerit et se non emendaverit, licitum est dominis sæcularibus hujusmodi radere per scapulas. Si dominus temporelis deliquerit licitum est populis ipsum corrigere." Knyght. Col. 2657. [A learned Protestant doctor, speaking of the laws against these innovators, says: "It was not for their speculative opinions, considered purely as such, that the followers of Wycliff were prosecuted, but because in certain respects, they maintained opinions, derogatory to the rights of princes, injurious to society, and contrary to the laws in force." He proceeds to quote archbishop Parker, Antiq. Britan. in proof that "the laws made against them were necessary, on account of the tumults they occasioned, and the terror they were of to civil government." Dr. Fiddes, Life of Card. Wolsey, pp. 38, 39.

‡ P. 75.

§ "Wychivianj sive Lollardi.....in tantum in suis laboriosis dogmatibus prævaluerunt quod mediam partem populi, aut majorem partem suæ sectæ adquisierunt. Quosdam autem ex corde, quosdam vero præ timore et verecundia." Knyghton, Co. 2664. This author had before contrasted the meekness of Christ, with the violence of the Lollards: "Assistere solent juxta sic inepte prædicantes gladio et pelta stipati ad eorum defensionem.....Christi doctrina est, Si quis vos non audierit excutite pulverem pedum vestrorum in testimonium illis, Istorum Wychivianorum disciplina longe aliter se habet: Si quis vos non audierit, eximite gladium et percutite eum." Col. 2662. [Walsingham asserts that these people were called Lollards, after one Walter Lolhard, a German of the sect of the Fratricelli, who preceded Wycliff about 50 years, and held many of his errors, especially those concerning temporal property.]

of his mission,* produced that rank harvest of insurrection, plunder, murder, and civil war, with which every one knows the reign of Richard II. was disgraced. It is true, only the chancellor and primate subdury, the lord treasurer Hales, and the chief justice Cavendish, amongst the ministers of state, were actually put to death by the mislead rioters; but it is clearly proved, that their intention was to kill the king himself, with all the nobility, bishops, rectors, canons, and monks, who sinned against Wycliff's fundamental doctrines concerning the unlawfulness of retaining temporal possessions, leaving only the friars to officiate for them, who observed the strict poverty of which they themselves made profession.† These rebellions, Sir, which nearly proved fatal to the kingdom, are as evidently traced to the revolutionary and equalizing doctrines of Wycliff and his followers, as an effect is to its cause in any other instance whatsoever, and the same is positively affirmed by contemporary writers, who had the best means of judging rightly in this point. One of them remarks the circumstance of the rebellion breaking out at the same time in all the different counties in which it raged, namely. in Kent, Essex, Hertfordshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire, and that this time was no other than the week appointed for celebrating the institution of the blessed Eucharist,‡ which is well known to have been the chief article of the received faith that Wycliff declaimed against. But what alone is decisive in this matter is, that the main body of the rebels, under Wat Heyler or Tyler, had for their chaplain a professed Lollard Priest, viz, John Ball, who in his well known sermon to them on Blackheath, preached up every

* The first preaching of Wycliff is referred by Walsingham to the year 1377. Hypodig. p. 531. The insurrection of the populace took place in June, 1381.

† See the dying confession of John Straw. Walsing. Hist. Ang. p. 265.

‡ The octave week of Corpus Christi. Walsing. Hist. p. 266.

crime which they actually committed or endeavoured to commit.*

It is clear, from our ancient historians, and the subsequent seditions, which marked this and the following reigns, are equally to be ascribed to the pestiferous doctrines of these democratical reformers.—Two years after the grand insurrection abovementioned, the populace of the metropolis were instigated by Wycliff and his followers, chiefly out of hatred against the prelates, to fresh and violent outrages.† In the first year of our victorious Henry V. Wycliff's disciples, not content with claiming toleration for themselves, fixed advertisements to the doors of the churches in London, giving notice, that they were ready to raise to the number of 100,000 men against all those who did not relish their opinions.‡ Nor was this a vain threat; for in the following year, viz, 1414, they endeavoured to raise a rebellion in St. Giles's-field, which place their leader, the celebrated Sir John Oldcastle, had appointed for their place of rendezvous. Being however, prevented by the activity of their warlike prince, several of them were taken prisoners, and after conviction, were executed as rebels; ** many

* “Docuit Joannes Ball perversa dogmata Joannis Wycliff, et opiniones quas tenuit et insanias falsas....Propter quæ prohibitus ab episcopo ne in ecclesiis prædicaret, concessit in plateas et vicos, vel in campos ad prædicandum. Postremo excommunicatus, cum nec sic desisteret, carceri mancipatur, ubi prædixit se deliberandum per 20,000 amicorum, quod postea evenit.—Cum taliter deliberatus fuisset eos secutus est instigans ad plura mala perpetranda. Ad le Black-heth, ubi 200,000 hominum fuerunt congregata hujus modi sermonem est exortus: *whan Adam dalfe and Eve span, who was than a Gentleman?* Walsing. Hist. p. 275.

† “Londonienses isto tempore cœperunt ultra modum insollescere, in perniciosum exemplum urbium aliarum....Animati enim erant per Joannem Wycliff et sequaces ejus ad hujusmodi perpetranda in reprobationem prælatorum.” Walsing. Hist. p. 288.

‡ “Eo tempore Lollardi fixerunt schedulas in valvis ecclesiarum Londoniis, quæ continebant 100,000 parata ad insurgendum contra cunctos qui non saperent sectam suam. Invitabantur nempe viribus et ingenio cujusdam Joannis Oldcastell,” &c. Walsing. p. 385.

** Walsingham, p. 386.

of whose names are inserted by Fox in his *Book of Martyrs*.* Three years later Oldcastle himself, who had hitherto eluded the hand of justice, being apprehended was examined in parliament, when he rested his chief plea on the pretended unlawfulness of capital punishments.† Being condemned and brought to the place of execution, such was the delirium of his fanaticism, that he besought Sir Thomas Erpingham, there present, to exert himself in procuring protection for the Wycliffites, in case he himself should rise to life on the third day after his execution.‡ It was in consequence Sir, of such doctrines as the aforesaid, and of the fatal fruits of such doctrines, that the act *de Hæretico Comburendo* was passed by the parliament in the reign of Henry IV, without any solicitation either from the Pope or the clergy; and it was owing to this very measure, on the part of the legislature, that a single acre of land has been left in the realm for your support, or that of any other clergyman. We have in this another instance of the blindness of your zeal against Popery, as well as that of John Fox, and of certain other writers, in overlooking every consideration of private interest and public benefit, in order to vilify the church of your ancestors.*

* Amongst others are, Sir Roger Acton, J. Browne, J. Beverly, R. Silbeck, J. Claydon, no less than Oldcastle himself, and the abovementioned seditious preachers, Ashton, Swynderby, &c. [Fox, who makes Protestant martyrs of these convicted rebels, is nevertheless strangely embarrassed to excuse their insurrection. He says perhaps it is not true, perhaps they met to confer about the scriptures.]

† “*Quæsitum fuit ab eo qualiter se voluit excusare.....cœpit prædicare.....vindictam fore solius Dei,*” &c. *Ibid.* p. 399. [The absolute unlawfulness of capital punishments, was one of the chief doctrines of this sect.]

‡ “*Adjurans eum ut si cerneret eum tertia die resurgere pacem procuraret sectæ suæ.*” *Ibid.* p. 400.

** One of the most learned and respectable advocates of the established church, Dr. Heylin, finds great fault with those who commend this precursor of the Reformation, Wycliff, of whom he says, “many of his opinions were so far from truth, so contrary to peace and civil order, so inconsistent with the government of the church of Christ, as to be utterly unworthy of so

The communication between England and Bohemia, in consequence of the marriage of Richard II. with the princess of that kingdom, caused Wycliff's doctrines to be speedily wafted thither. They were principally supported, in the university of Prague, by John Huss, to whose history you next direct our attention,* by way of proving that persecution is a tenet of the Catholic faith) and upon the same motive of private resentment,† which had occasioned their first publication in that of Oxford.‡ They were productive however of still more fatal consequences in that kingdom, than they had occasioned in this. They first caused violent seditions, in which Huss himself took an active part.§ They next excited a general insurrection of the populace; and they ended in a dreadful fanatical revolution, which for many years deluged the plains of Bohemia with blood.** You will please to observe, Sir, that if John Huss and Jerom of Prague were put to death for heresy, it was not until the doctrines of that heresy were proved by their effects, as well as by arguments, to be utterly inconsistent with the peace of society and the very existence of civil government.

Notwithstanding this, you maintain, that the execution of these men by a general council, after safe-conducts had been granted them, is a proof, that the church held not only the tenet of persecution, but also that of perjury.†† But, in the first place, is it true,

gest a character. But such is the humour of some men as to call every separation from the church of Rome the gospel, and the greater the separation, the more pure the gospel." Animadvers. on Fuller, p. 65.

* Pp. 84, 86.

† Fleury, Ecc. Hist. l. c.

‡ Harpsfield de Hist. Wycl. Stow.

§ Fleury, Hist. Liv. Contin. l. ci, § 40. 44.

** The Hussites began their career by murdering the mayor of Prague. They then overturned the government of the kingdom, after fighting several pitched battles against their sovereign in the field, and after every where burning down monasteries, murdering the clergy, and those who protected them.—Æneas Sylv. ap. Fleury.

†† P. 75.

that either John Huss or Jerom of Prague was put to death by the council? No, Sir, for the council having examined their faith and excommunicated them, expressly declared, that it had no power to proceed further against them.* They were both of them successively committed to the flames by the magistrates of Constance, in virtue of the standing laws of the empire to this effect, and by the particular order of the elector Palatine and the emperor Sigismund.† 2dly, But were they not at least burnt "at the instance of the council," as you assert was the case? No, Sir; we have the acts of the council still extant, and we have an elaborate history of it by a celebrated Calvinist,‡ but no traces of such a solicitation or instance on its part to be discovered. On the contrary, the emperor Sigismund, long before the condemnation of Huss, declared in the council, that the errors of which he was accused, if proved against him, were deserving of death;§ and he assured Huss himself, if he did not retract them, that he himself would, with his own hands, light the fire to burn him.** Your will then say, that the emperor at least violated his faith, in causing John Huss to be executed, after the safe-conduct which he had given him; and, in like manner, that the council itself was guilty of perfidy in permitting Jerom of Prague to be put to death, who came to it, as you say, "protected by the public faith of the council itself." Permit me to ask, have you ever examined the different safe conducts of these two innovators? If you have, you must have seen, that the safe-conduct of Huss is nothing more than a common

* Act Concil. Sess. xv. [By an invariable rule of the church, it is unlawful, under its highest penalty, for every ecclesiastic to concur in any capital or sanguinary punishment whatsoever. It is in virtue of this ancient discipline that the bishops at the present time leave their places in parliament when trials of life and death are therein going forward.]

† L'Enfant, l. iii, § 48. The laws in question were made by the emperor Frederic II.

‡ L'Enfant, Hist. Council. Constant. 6.

§ Ibid, l. iii, § 12.

** 3 Ibid.

travelling passport to protect him from seizure or violence on his journey to and from the council,* in which he loudly boasted, he should prove his faith to be orthodox ; but not in any sort an exemption from the ordinary course of law, in case he should be found guilty of heresy. Neither did Huss solicit, nor the emperor ever think of granting, an exemption of that nature.† With respect to the safe-conduct of Jerom of Prague, which was granted at his request by the council after he had imposed upon it by a feigned retraction and clandestinely withdrawn from it,‡ a clause

* L'Enfant, Hist. Concil. Constant. l. i, § 41.

† In the advertisements which Huss caused to be fixed on the churches of Bohemia, he says : " I am going to the council to make it clear whether or no I have held or taught any erroneous doctrines, which if they can 'prove against me, I will readily submit to all the pains of heretics." L'Enfant, Hist. Conc. l. i, § 21. Before the council itself he declared, that, " if a heretic will not renounce his errors he ought to be corporally punished." Ibid. l. iii, § 7, art. 18.—[It must also be observed that the emperor explained his safe conduct in this sense to Huss himself: namely, that it had not been violated by his detention, since he had been convicted of heresy by the council. Ibid. l. iii. § 6.]—See also an answer to the Rev. W. Abernethy's Letter, by the Rev. G. Hay, V. A. Edinburgh, 1778. It is proper to add, that if Huss had been provided with a safe-conduct, as ample as Dr. S. supposes it to have been, he nevertheless would have forfeited the benefit of it by his attempt to fly from Constance, and still more by his continuing afterwards to inculcate his errors in that very city, as was observed in the 10th session of the council. See Contin. Fleury, l. cii. L'Enfant, l. i, § 29, &c.

‡ Though the council was guilty of no breach of faith to Jerom, yet was he guilty of a flagrant breach of it to the council, in pronouncing a solemn condemnation of Wycliff and Huss, and making an explicit declaration of catholic faith, both of which were foreign to his mind, as he afterwards confessed.—L'Enfant, l. iv. § 75. [In fact, the Hussites held the lawfulness of committing perjury for the sake of their lives or their religion. Hence the council under Pope Martin ordered persons suspected of their heresy to be examined on this identical head. So little conscious was it of having itself committed a breach of faith.] The Remonstrant or Arminian ministers, who to the number of 15, assisted at the synod of Dort, to give

was inserted to prevent the clamours which had been raised on the seizure of Huss, and to guard against its being considered as derogating either from the canon or the civil laws.* See, Sir, how many calumnies you have heaped together against all the most learned and virtuous prelates of Christendom in the 15th century, and in what glaring absurdities and impieties you have involved yourself, in order to raise two seditious dogmatizers of Bohemia to the rank of "Martyrs of Jesus."†

an account of their faith, on a public summons to this effect, complained with more reason of a violation of public faith, when they found themselves, at the breaking up of the synod, seized upon and hurried away into perpetual exile, without being allowed so much as to see their families. See De Brandt. Hist. Ref. vol. ii.

* By the clause *Salva Justitia*. Contin. Fleury, l. cii. which was for the purpose in question inserted in it. [L'Enfant gives the passage in the following words. "Un sauf conduit pour le mettre à couvert de violence, sauf néanmoins la justice, et autant qu'il dépend du concile, et que l'exige la foi orthodoxe." l. ii, § 37. Dr. S. finding himself beat out all his of arguments concerning the council of Constance, makes a faint effort to cover his retreat by alledging, on the credit of Sleidan and Father Paul, that the elector Palatine objected to the seizure of Luther, at the diet of Worms, after the example which some persons, (we are not told who) alledged to have been set in the detention of Huss. I agree with Dr. S. that it would have been a violation of public faith, to detain Luther at the aforesaid diet, but I do not see how the opinion of the Palatine, or that of any other members of the diet concerning this matter, can be understood to refute my justification of the council of Constance. The same must be said of the trifling anecdote which he reports from L'Enfant, (who himself appears to make little account of it) concerning the blushing of Sigismund and of Charles V, for the seizure of Huss. In fact, if there were any blame in this transaction, it is solely imputable to Sigismund, and not to the council, as Fiddes and Dr. Browne Willis confess. Life of Wolsey, p. 137.

† P. 56. This is quoted from the early works of a prelate, now venerable for his age as well as his learning, who has seen cause to doubt, in the course of late events, whether it is quite so certain that the bishop of Rome is Antichrist, as he once supposed. Let that matter be as it may, I ask Dr. S. by what criterion of sanctity he pronounces those men *martyrs*, who were

Your next argument, of persecution being a tenet of Catholic faith, is drawn from the massacre of Paris, and the alledged approbation of it by a Pope, namely, the celebrated reformer of the calendar, Gregory XIII. With respect to the horrid deed itself of blood and perfidy, I will not attempt to justify it, as the king, the queen-dowager, and their ministers did, at the time when it happened, by pretending that the Huguenots were on the point of executing a plot to destroy them, and to overturn the government ;* because it is now clear from history, that no such a plot existed at that precise time. I will not even extenuate its atrociousness by expatiating on the two real conspiracies for seizing on this very king and his court, and for subverting the constitution of their country, which the Calvinists actually attempted to execute ;† or on the

chiefly condemned for holding that *dominion is founded in grace ; that no one is a true king, bishop, &c. whilst he is in mortal sin ; that the people have a right to punish their rulers ; that it is contrary to the law of Christ to bestow property on the church ?* In fact it has been demonstrated by Bossuet, *Variat b. xi. § 165*, and is admitted by the learned Protestants whom he quotes, that Huss and Jerom, on almost every point of modern controversy, except communion in both kinds, (a mere matter of changeable discipline) maintained the doctrine of Catholics, particularly on those of transubstantiation, the mass, the intercession of saints, purgatory, and the seven sacraments. By what criterion then, I ask again, does Dr. S. and also bishop Hurd canonize them, unless they conceive that to have opposed the established pastors of the church in any cause, however wicked, was meritorious, and that to have died in such a cause was to become a martyr of Jesus ? [See also L'Enfant, who demonstrates at large, that both the abovementioned sufferers held the Catholic faith in every point which Protestants object to, and especially in that of transubstantiation. l. iii, § 52, &c. l. iv. § 77. Dupin. Biblioth. tom. iii, pp. 137, 138.]

* Maimbourg, Hist. Calvin. l. vi.

† Those of Amboise and Meaux, the latter of which appeared so heinous in the king's eyes, that he vowed never to forgive it. The Huguenots had before, when they took up arms against him in 1562, threatened him with the greatest indignities, namely, to whip him and bind him an apprentice to a mechanical trade. Ibid, l. iv. It appears from Thuanus, that his chief resentment was directed against Coligni, and that it was the murder of him which drew on that of the other Protestants.

four pitched battles which they had fought against the armies of their sovereign ; or on their treachery in delivering up Havre de Grace, the key of the kingdom, into the hands of a foreign potentate, queen Elizabeth ; or even upon the massacres with which they themselves had previously inundated all France.* So far from this, I am ready to exclaim with Thuanus, or with yourself, in contemplating the horrors of St. Bartholomew's-day : *Excidat illa dies ævo, nec postera credant sæcula.*† But, Sir, let the blame fall where it is due, on the black vengeance of the unrelenting Charles IX, and on the remorseless ambition of the unprincipled Catherine of Medicis, who alternately favoured the Catholics and Huguenots, as seemed best to suit her own interest. The very calumny that I mentioned before, which the king and queen invented to excuse their barbarity, is a sufficient proof that they did not conceive it lawful to commit such crimes to serve their religion,‡ for which indeed neither of them felt much zeal ; and as this savage villainy was contrived without the participation of a single individual of the French clergy, so that the body was most for-

* I do not speak of the innumerable massacres committed by the Calvinists of France, upon priests, religious, and other unarmed people, during the civil wars which they carried on against their sovereigns, some of which have been already noticed. Davila relates, that upon the death of Francis II, when liberty of conscience was granted them, besides burning down churches and monasteries, they massacred people in the very streets of Paris. Heylin relates, that in the time of a profound peace, these same people taking offence at the procession of Corpus Christi, performed in the city of Pamiers, fell upon the whole clergy who composed it and murdered them ; and that they afterwards committed the same outrages at Montauban, Rodez, Valence, &c. Hist. Presb. l. ii.

† Thuan. ex Statio.

‡ This further appears from the proclamation of Charles immediately after the massacre : “ Eodem die edictum promulgatur, quo rex testabatur quidquid in hac re accidisset suo diserto mandato gestum esse, *non religionis odio*, sed ut nefariæ Colini et sociorum conjurationi obviam iret.” Thuan. l. lii.

ward at the time to oppose its completion,* and has ever since been the most warm in reprobating it.†

But you say, "I do not lay so much stress upon the act itself of the massacre, as upon the joy expressed, and the marked approbation given it, by the Pope, in the public thanksgivings and rejoicings with which he celebrated it."‡ You had undertaken, Sir, to produce Bulls and declarations of the Popes establishing persecution as "a tenet of the Catholic religion;"§ and you here refer me to the individual act of a Pontiff, which establishes no doctrine whatsoever, and in which he was as liable to act wrong from ignorance or malice, as another man. If, Sir, I were satisfied that Gregory XIII had approved of the foul deed of St Bartholomew's-day, after having viewed it in the same clear and steady light in which you and I behold it, now that the clouds of royal calumny in which it was invested have been dispersed, I should not even then think that persecution was proved to be a tenet of his faith, but I should judge him to have partaken of Charles's and Catherine's sanguinary disposition, in opposition to the character which historians have stamped upon him. But you will recollect the infinite pains which the French king took, by letters, ambassadors, rejoicing, and medals, to make both his subjects and foreign princes, but most of all the Pope, believe, that in killing the Huguenots he had only taken a necessary measure of self-defence to preserve his own life, together

* It is particularly recorded of Henuyer, a Dominican friar and bishop of Lisieux, that he opposed to the utmost of his power, the execution of the king's order for the murder of the Protestants in his diocese, answering the governor of the province when he communicated it to him: *It is the duty of the good shepherd to lay down his life for his sheep, not so let them be slaughtered before his face. These are my sheep, though they have gone astray, and I am resolved to run all hazards in protecting them.* Maimb.

† See Maimb. Contin. Fleury, &c.

‡ P. 54.

§ P. 52.

with the constitution and religion of his kingdom.*— If we admit these accounts to have been believed at Rome and Madrid, as there is every reason to suppose they actually were, the rejoicings at those courts will put on a very different appearance from that in which you exhibit them.

Your next common place is the Inquisition, which you tell us, “comprise in itself all the horrors of religious persecution.”† But, Sir, give me leave to observe to you, that the practices and the very existence of the Inquisition, have as little connection with the Catholic religion, as they have with my History of Winchester, in which they are not, to my recollection, once mentioned. If I wanted arguments in favour of this assertion, you yourself have furnished me with them. For you not only ascribe a very late date to it, but also you tell us, that “several Catholic countries, dreading the miseries which such a tribunal would produce, persevered in refusing to admit it.”‡ Is not this equivalent to a confession, that the Inquisition neither was, nor was considered as any part of the religion of Catholics; any more than the court of high commission, which bore a near resemblance with it, both in its severity and in its forms,§ made part of the

* Thuanus, l. iii. Maimb. l. vi. [The learned Pagi, in his Life of Greg. XIII. shews that the latter considered the conduct of Charles IX, after it had been explained to him by the French ambassador, as a necessary act of self-defence against the alledged plot of admiral Coligni and the Huguenots: “*Actis publice Deo gratius de periculo a conjuratione Colinii evitato.*” Brev. Gest. Rom. Pont. vol. vi, p. 729.]

† P. 54.

‡ P. 55.

§ The Dissenters filled the kingdom with complaints of the oppression which they suffered from this court during the reigns of Elizabeth and the two first Stuarts, representing it as much more intolerable than the Inquisition itself. The Historian Hume gives the following account of it: “Any word or writing which tended towards heresy, schism, or sedition, was punishable by the high commissioners, or any three of them; they alone were judges what expressions had that tendency: they proceeded, not by information, but upon rumour, suspicion, or according to their own fancy. They administered an oath, by

religion of Protestants? It is not necessary then to say more on this subject, than barely to animadvert on two considerable mistakes, as to matter of fact, which you have fallen into concerning it. It is not true then, as you, Sir, assert, that St. Dominic was the founder of the Inquisition, or even that he was a member of it; for it did not exist until after his death.* I grant that he vigorously opposed the pernicious errors of the Albigenses, and that he converted an incredible number of them; but he never made use of any other arms for this purpose than preaching, prayer, and the example of his virtues.† On the other hand, it is a fact, that this tribunal, with all its severity, was not competent to pass sentence of death, or the loss of limbs upon any person whomsoever.

From the authority of councils and Popes, you descend to that of Catholic writers, on which topic you

which the party cited before them, was bound to answer any question which should be propounded to him: whoever refused this oath, though under pretext that he might be thereby brought to accuse himself or his dearest friend, was punishable by imprisonment. In short, an inquisitorial tribunal, with all its terrors and iniquities, was erected in the kingdom. Full discretionary powers were bestowed with regard to the inquiry, trial, sentence, and penalty inflicted; except only, that corporal punishments were restrained by the patent of the prince which erected that court, not by the act of parliament which empowered him," &c. *Hist. of Eng. James I, c. vi.*—A curious specimen of its vexatious and rigorous proceedings under Elizabeth, was the search made in John Stow, the historian's library, for forbidden books. See an account of this transaction, and of the books seized upon as unlawful and papistical, in *Stype's Life of Grindal*. [Maclaine, in his notes on Mosheim, vol. iv, p. 395, shews that the high commission court "was empowered to make enquiry, not only by legal methods, but also by rack, torture, inquisition, and imprisonment; that the fines and imprisonments to which it condemned persons were limited by no rule, but its own pleasure."]

* Butler's *Lives of Saints*, Aug. 4. Mosheim, *sæc. xiii*, who blames Limborch for falling into this error. [Notwithstanding the detection of this gross historical error, Dr. S. repeats it in his second edition, as he does so many others, without even attempting to defend them.]

† Contin. Fleury, Butler.

present us with a note, borrowed from bishop Hurd's *Introduction*, concerning the opinion of Bossuet in this matter.* Before I proceed any further, Sir, I must take the liberty of complaining, that the English bishop has both unfairly garbled, and unfaithfully translated the passage of the French prelate. It is true then, that Bossuet, writing under an absolute prince, just after the revocation of the edict of Nantz, asserts, "the rights of sovereigns to use the sword against their subjects, who are enemies of sound doctrine;" without which, he thinks, "the power of the legislature would be enervated and maimed." But how does he attempt to prove his point? Not by producing any principle or decision of his own church to this effect, as in fact no such decision or principle exists but by an *argumentum ad hominem*, or a reference to the doctrine of the founders and other most illustrious writers of the reformation on the point in question. He particularly cites the works of Luther, Calvin, Melancthon, and Jurieu,† and likewise the standing discipline of the church of Geneva, in conformation of his opinion ‡— In reproaching then Bossuet with his perescuting doctrine, bishop Hurd and yourself act uncandidly by suppressing the authority on which he places it, namely, the maxims of the chief protestants. This being so, it is an absurdity, as well as a falsity, to put into this author's mouth the following sentence: "*there is no illusion more dangerous than to consider TOLERATION as a mark of the true Church*" when in fact, he did not admit that there was an atom of toleration or even a pretence to it amongst the adversaries with whom he was contending. The truth is, he barely denies, that a state of SUFFERING is a mark of the true Church, which was the actual condition of the French Calvinists at the

* Pp. 55, 56.

† To these names he might have added those of Beza (see his work de Hæreticis puniendis a Civili Magistratu), Bullinger, Capito, Bucer, Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Edwin, &c. &c.

‡ The same might have been said of the laws and canons of England, Scotland, and every other Protestant state in Europe.

time when he wrote.* In a word, Sir, whatever might

* "Il n'y point d'illusion plus dangereuse, que de donner LA SOUFFRANCE pour un caractere de vraye eglise."—Hist. des Variat. l. x, § 56. [Dr. S. persists, in the notes of his second edition. p. 127, that the French word *souffrance* means *toleration*, and not *suffering*, in the passage of Bossuet referred to. This would imply that the Huguenots, against whom that prelate wrote, really taught that the doctrine of toleration was a mark of Christ's church, whereas Bossuet premises that there is no question between him and them on this point, as they both agree on the lawfulness of using the material sword to protect sound doctrine. "Je n'ai pas besoin ici de m'expliquer sur la question, si les princes Chretiens sont en droit de se servir de la puissance du glaive contre leurs sujets ennemis de l'Eglise et de la sainte doctrine, puisqu'en ce point les Protestans sont d'accord avec nous," &c. Ibid.] Dr. S. admits, that Bossuet, in the work above quoted, proves his main point namely, "the great variety of religious opinions professed by Protestants." But he says, that there has been almost as great a difference of opinion amongst Catholics, only that this "has been concealed by the broad mantle of papal supremacy." P. 58. What is this but to acknowledge the advantage of this supremacy, pointed out by Grotius, namely, that of having a superior and efficient authority for composing religious differences. See the above note, p. 35.—Dr. S. also admits, that Bossuet's inference, from the acknowledged variety of Protestants, concerning "the necessity of adhering to one infallible church, would be just, if the church were infallible. He elsewhere seems to grant, that infallibility would be an incomparable benefit, if Providence were pleased to bestow it upon the church. P. 25. He nevertheless, totally misrepresents the argument of Catholics upon this subject. I shall therefore endeavour to state it aright. No legislator ever established laws for a numerous society without appointing judges and magistrates with due authority to explain and enforce them. Indeed it would be obviously better to have no written code at all, than such a one as each individual was authorised to interpret for himself, and to take into his own hands to execute.—Can we then suppose, that the wisdom and goodness of God has left his spiritual kingdom, the church, without those necessary means of preserving its peace and its very existence?—Hence we should naturally conclude, that the body of the pastors, with the chief bishop at their head, are under the protection and guidance of the Almighty, in deciding upon contested articles of faith, even though Christ, had not assured us of this point, as he does in the following texts: *The spirit of truth will guide you into all truth.* St. John, xvi, 13. *He that heareth you heareth me, and he that despiseth you despiseth me.* St. Luke,

have been the private opinion of Bossuet on the lawfulness and expediency of revoking the edict of Nantz, and whatever apprehensions you may affect to entertain for my orthodoxy in consequence of my avowed doctrine of toleration,* I am not afraid of being disowned by the church on this account. On the contrary, I am convinced that I speak her sentiments in adopting the language quoted below, of Turtullian† of Pope St. Leo,‡ of our apostle St. Augustine,§ &c. and that I am influenced by her spirit in admiring the well known conduct of the great St. Ambrose and St. Martin, both of whom refused to hold any communion, even to gratify an emperor, with Ithacius, a Spanish bishop, and certain other persons, who sought to put the Priscillian heretics to death.** In a word I am persuaded, where any sect, whether of christians or of infidels, is found under a Catholic dominion, separated from the great body of the Catholic church, but upon mere questions of religion, without teaching any principle inconsistent with the fundamental laws of morality or the peace of society, (as I am convinced is the case in the church of England, though I am certain of the contrary with respect to the Albigenses, the Wickliffites, and the Hussites) that it is equally the part of prudence, of justice, and of charity, not to persecute them in any shape whatsoever, nor to attack them with any other sword, than *the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God.*††

x, 16. *If he neglect to hear the church let him be to thee as an heathen or a publican.* St. Mat. xviii, 17.

* P. 57.

† Non est religionis religionem cogere.

‡ "Ecclesia Dei non recipit pœnas sanguineas." St. Leo ad Turib.

§ "Didicerat (rex Ethelbertus) a doctoribus et aucteribus suæ salutis servitium Christi voluntarium non coactitium esse debere." Beda, Hist. Ecc. Gent. Aug. l. i, c. 26.

** See the respective accounts of these saints in Butler's Lives of Saints, Nov. 11, and Dec. 7.

†† Ephes. vi. 17. [Dr. S. in his second edition p. 129, has produced a second passage from Bossuet's works, expressive of *his own sentiments* in favour of religious persecution; unfortunately however for my adversary's purpose, in neither of these

I will now, Sir, venture to assert, after this discussion of your authorities, that you have not proved the point which you so confidently boast of having proved, namely, that "persecution is a tenet of the Catholic church." Indeed the falsehood of this assertion, without any proof at all glares in the face of all our nobility and gentry who have made the tour of Europe, and who are conscious of having resided with as much peace and security in the Papal city of Rome as they have done in the Protestant city of Geneva. I now proceed to finish this disagreeable subject of persecution, by considering what farther occurs concerning it in your following letter. I fear, if the spirit of our respective churches be estimated by what you and I have advanced concerning the persecutions which more immediately relate to ourselves, namely, those which have taken place in this country since the reformation, that the balance of toleration will not appear

passages nor in any other does this author attempt to support his sentiments by the known *doctrine of the Catholic Church*, which is the point at issue between us.—Dr. S. professes to give the passage in question from the translation of a gentleman, for whose name and family I entertain the warmest regard and the deepest veneration. I wish it were in my power to confirm what Dr. S. asserts concerning that gentleman's *religious communion*, or that I could be excused from complaining of the signal injustice which he has been guilty of to me in the work above alluded to. In this, after paying many compliments to Dr. S. which I do not envy him, and ridiculing me as a *monk of the ninth century*, (a character I own, which I would rather chuse to support than that of a petit maitre, or buck parson of the present day) he says, as nearly as I can recollect, that Bossuet's sentiments on persecution are exploded by every one of the present day except by the historian of Winchester. Now, I appeal to the candid reader whether I have not explicitly and fairly abandoned Bossuet on this head in the text above, and whether he has met with a single sentence in the present Letters or in either volume of my history, which is not in perfect unison with it?—On the other hand, a considerable portion of my adversary's book of *Reflections*, which the gentleman praises for their spirit of liberality and toleration, consists of a laboured attempt to vindicate that load of barbarous penal statutes under which his virtuous and loyal ancestors groaned for more than two centuries.]

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to be in favour of the church of which you are the advocate.

You say, "the persecution of Henry VIII was that of a Pope rather than of a king,"* and that "as a civil governor he was a tyrant, as an ecclesiastical governor a Pope."† Your meaning in this must be, that the oath of spiritual supremacy which he exacted from his Catholic subjects was unjust, and that the capital punishments to which he condemned them for refusing it were acts of tyranny. You accordingly express no less indignation at the unworthy fate of the virtuous More, and the other Catholics, who died for opposing this hitherto unheard-of spiritual supremacy of the crown,‡ than at that of the Protestants and Anabaptists,§ who were put to death in this and the following reigns for their new opinions. This, Sir, is candid and liberal: but by what rule you afterwards condemn the missionary priests that suffered, in the self same cause, under Elizabeth, who was no less a Pope than her father,** I cannot understand. During the reign

* P. 69.

† P. 63.

‡ P. 64. The total number of Catholics, who suffered the death of traitors for denying Henry to be the spiritual head of the church, was 60. Of these John Fisher was bishop of Rochester, (being no less the ornament of the clergy in his time, than Sir Thomas More was of the laity) three were Benedictine abbots, those of Glassenbury, Reading, and Colchester, three others were Carthusian priors, 16 were Carthusian monks or other religious, 23 were clergymen; and the rest knights, gentlemen, and yeomen. Besides these, 64 other Carthusians or Franciscans were condemned to death, most of whom were starved to death in prison. See Dodd's accurate account, Ch. Hist. vol. i, p. 342. [and Sanders de Visibili Monarchia Ecclesiaz.]

§ It appears from Stow, that 19 Protestants or Anabaptists, but chiefly of the latter description, were put to death for their opinion in this reign, besides 15 others who were condemned to it.

** See the proofs of this in Hist. of Winch. vol. i, pp. 365, 366.—The learned Protestant centuriator, Chemnitius, speaking of Elizabeth's supremacy, says: "Femineo fastu et a saculis in auditu se papissam et caput ecclesiaz fecit." Ep. ad Elect. Brand.

of the child, Edward VI, when the Protestant religion was established by law, five Anabaptists were condemned to death;* besides Joan Knell and George Paris, who actually underwent that sentence, the former for disbelieving the reality of Christ's flesh, the latter for denying the divinity of his person: in all which acts of persecution the chief agent was archbishop Cranmer.

I now come once more to speak of the furious and fatal persecution of Protestants in queen Mary's reign. If I knew any more emphatical terms to express my abhorrence of it, than those which I have already employed in my History, I would here make use of them. To convey together herds of poor weavers, sawyers, shoe-makers, and other working people, women as well as men, to execution for civil crimes, would be contrary to the established rules of a just and prudent government:† how much more inhuman and unwise then was it to do this on account of subtil controversies of faith, which the examination of a great part of the sufferers proves them not to have understood? Having expressed the same sentiment before, I asserted, of course, that "if Mary was a persecutor, it was not in virtue of any tenet of her religion that she was so"‡ I at the same time assigned the real cause of her departing from that prudent, as well as humane line of conduct, which she professed and followed during the early part of her reign, namely, her resentment and mistaken policy, in consequence of the numerous provocations which she met with from the effervescent zeal of her Protestant subjects. In fact, this spirit, however violent at first,

* Stow. An. 1549.

† The learned and sagacious doctor of the church, St. Augustine, speaking of crimes that are become general in a community, lays down the line of conduct which a wise government will ever follow: "Non asperè non duriter ista, tollantur. Tollerantur magis docendo quam jubendo, magis monendo quam minando: sic enim agendum est cum multitudine peccantium: severitas autem exercenda est in peccata paucorum." Ep. 64. vet. ed.

‡ Hist. vol. i, p. 355.

would soon have cooled of its own nature, had it not been fanned by the breath of persecution. The above assertions I proved by arguments that to me appear demonstrative, and I confirmed them by the authority of some of the most learned and able advocates of the established church, who are loud in condemning the excesses here alluded to.* These, however, you have not condescended to examine; on the contrary, without argument or testimony at all, you go on repeating your illiberal and absurd charges, purporting, that the queen, by being a member of the Catholic church, was obliged in conscience to light up the fires of Smithfield, and to immolate whole hecatombs of her Protestant subjects. The real truth is, the persecutions of Mary's reign are too powerful an engine on the minds of the vulgar for any modern controversial writer or preacher to relinquish it, whilst he is capable of managing it. On the other hand, to affix the odium of those violent measures to the memory of Mary and her ministers alone, so as to acquit the character of the present race of Catholics, would be to deprive this engine of its chief efficacy. But once again, Sir, permit me to ask, if the Catholic religion obliged the queen in conscience to commence persecutor, would not the Pope have given her some intimation of this sort, in the detailed instructions which he sent her for the regulation of her conduct, at her first accession to the throne?† If this persecution had been set on foot in virtue of any tenet or obligation of the Catholic religion, would there not have occurred some regulation or articles concerning it in the synod that was held in 1555, by the Pope's legate, cardinal Pole, and the other Catholic bishops, for regulating all matters relating to their religion? Look, Sir, at the heads of that synod, as they are reported by Burnet himself, and see whether you can find a word of that matter. So far from it, this writer, with all his prejudices, gives credit to the cardinal for his toleration, in a spi-

* Heylen, Hist. Ref. p. 47. Collier, Ecc. Hist. New lights thrown on the History of Queen Mary.

† Hist. vol. i, p. 355.

rit of liberality that you are far from imitating, at the present day, with all your professed moderation.*—Again, Sir, I beg you will answer me (not by sarcasms but by arguments) how this primate of the English church and representative of the Pope could openly condemn in the council, as the Catholic preachers also did from the pulpit, the cruelties in question, had they conformably to your bigotted notion, been carried on in virtue of any tenet of their religion?† Finally, we have the substance of the arguments employed on both sides in that cabinet council, which took the fatal resolution of employing fire and faggot against the new religion; but do the most violent advocates for that measure, do even Gardiner and Bonner once intimate, in opposition to the cardinal, that they have the doctrine of the church on their side? No, Sir, they resort to no other arguments than those of policy, and upon these alone was the question fatally determined by Mary herself‡ I think, Sir, after weighing all this, you will no longer cavil at my assertion, that, if “Mary was a persecutor, it was not in virtue of any tenet of her religion that she was so.”

I should have expected, Sir, not so much in consequence of my abandoning all defence of Mary's sanguinary proceedings, as of your own high-toned and eloquent panegyrics on toleration and charity, that you would, in your turn, have fairly and candidly given up, as indefensible, the long and severe persecutions carried on against Catholics by Elizabeth and her successors. You cannot deny the bloody deeds themselves, which the series of my History obliged me to bring forward, and which most former historians have carefully kept from public view;§ nevertheless, you refuse to balance the account of blood

* Burnet speaking of this synod says: “By all this it may appear how well tempered the cardinal (Pole) was. He never set on the clergy to persecute heretics, but to reform themselves.” &c. Hist. Ref. P. ii, p. 326.

† Hist. Ref. P. ii, pp. 298, 305.

‡ Ibid, p. 299. Heylin, p. 48.

§ Hist. vol. i, pp. 280—285.

with me even-handed, but drive as hard a bargain as you can about the number of the sufferers on both sides, and the nature of the torments which they respectively endured,* as also concerning the occasion which you pretend there was for enacting penal laws against Catholics. This last mentioned point forms a distinct subject, on which you spend much pains in misrepresenting the history of the said Catholics since the reformation. Hence I shall be obliged, in some of my subsequent letters, to enter into much longer disquisitions on this head than I wish to do. I shall now finish the present letter with a few words on the two former points which you object to me.

You assert then, on the authority of Hume, that the number of Protestants who suffered death in the persecution of Mary was two hundred and seventy-seven. This account appears to be collected from Fox's Martyrology, with which it pretty nearly agrees, and on that presumption I have no difficulty in saying, that very considerable deductions ought to be made from it. For first, in strict justice, no Anabaptist, Arian, or other abettor of singular opinions, who would equally have been sent to the fire by Cranmer and the other Protestant prelates, had they continued in power, ought to be brought in testimony of Mary's cruelty in the present controversy.† 2dly, All those who were guilty of any act of sedition or felony, which otherwise rendered them obnoxious to capital punishment, are manifestly to be struck off the list of martyrs.‡ 3dly, I cannot permit Dr. S. to reckon

* Pp. 71, 74.

† Of these there was a very great number. See the Examen of Fox's Calendar, in Part iii, of Parson's Three conversions of England.

‡ Such as W. Flower, who stabbed a priest at the altar at St. Margaret's, Westminster, April 9; W. Gardiner, another of these pretended martyrs, was executed at Lisbon for attacking the cardinal prince Henry, afterwards king of Portugal, when officiating at the altar; G. Eagles, alias Trudge-over-the-world, who openly prayed for the queen's death, Aug. 30; C. Cauches, G. Gilbert, and P. Massey, the famous Guernsey women, whom Parsons proves to have been felons and guilty of

those as martyrs, who died reprobating the doctrine or discipline which he maintains :* nor can those be consistently classed in the same calendar who notoriously varied from each other on the leading tenets of their faith.† With much greater reason ought all such sufferers to be degraded from a martyrology whom their own friends and advocates declare to have been idiots or mad.‡ When all these deductions are made in consequence of the blind prejudices of the original martyrologist, there will still remain another very considerable one to be made on the score of those precipitate blunders and mistakes which he is proved to have been so subject to.§

theft, July 19. The last mentioned of these was mother of the pretended infant martyr, concerning whom such violent outcries have been and still are raised. This author proves the mother to have been a prostitute, who by concealing her pregnancy, was the real cause of her child's death, which however happened previously to the burning of its body by the executioner.

* It appears, from Fox's account, that John Rogers, the first on the list of religious sufferers in this reign, was no less a confirmed puritan than bishop Hooper was, for he denounced "a worse punishment than that of fire (in this world) on all those who wore surplices, tippets, &c.

† This is proved to have been the case with the greatest part of the number, by Parsons *passim*.

‡ See the account of Wm. Nichols, April 30; Thomas Whittle, Jan. 12; Edward Freeze, March 12. Of two others who suffered in the year 1538, and whom Fox has equally inserted in his calendar of martyrs, he himself writes thus: "With this Collins may be adjoined Cowbrige, who *likewise* being mad, and out of his right senses was condemned by Longland." &c. P. 1033.—Other instances of gross error in this famous martyrologist are hinted at in the History of Winchester, vol. i, p. 358, and may be seen at large in the authors there referred to. [Dr. S. now professes, second edition, p. 163, "never to have read a page in Fox's book in all his life," but to have borrowed his account of the sufferers under Mary from Hume.—So much the worse in him to have written so much on an important and controverted subject without having consulted the most ancient and authentic source of information extant concerning it, and to have trusted to a writer of so little credit, especially in matters of religion, as the one last named !]

† [Some of his pretended martyrs were actually alive when he wrote his work, others by mentioning them twice over, he appears to multiply into different persons.]

I reported in my History that, during the reign of Elizabeth, two hundred persons were put to death for the profession of the Catholic faith.* In fact, I have collected the names of two hundred and four persons executed on that sole account, chiefly within the twenty last years of her reign† Of this number one

* Hist. vol. i, p. 385.—This list does not include the Catholics executed for any plot real or imaginary, except the eleven priests who suffered in 1581—2 for the pretended plot of Rheims and Rome, because that was so glaring a forgery that even Camden allows these men to have been political victims, immolated to appease the populace, who were in a ferment at the idea of the queen marrying a Catholic prince, the brother of the king of France. It is proper here to remark, that these sufferers were in general persons of a very different description from most of Fox's martyrs, being thoroughly instructed in the doctrines of the religion for which they died, perfectly agreeing in their faith and discipline, and proving themselves possessed of the most edifying piety, modesty, charity, purity of life, allegiance to their sovereign, and obedience to the magistrates and laws in all matters, except those of religion. Far the greater part of them, and particularly all the priests, were men of education, having for the most part been educated at the university of Oxford, previously to their retiring abroad in order to embrace the ancient faith, and to receive those orders which they were not permitted to receive in their own country.

† Though the particulars of these persecutions have been overlooked by most of our common historians, yet many individuals, both of our own nation and foreigners, were careful in collecting the particulars of them: as Dr. Bridgewater in his *Concertatio Ecc. Cath.* Card. Allen in his *Modest Defence*. F. Parsons *De Persec.* Rishton *De Schism. Angl.* Ribadineira in his *Appendix* to the same. Moor's *Hist. of the Eng. Prov.* Yepas, bishop of Tarazona, in his *Spanish Hist. of Persecution*. The most authentic sources however of these matters are the MS. diaries of Douay college, and of the other colleges and convents, in which the greater part of the sufferers received their education, and the MSS. of different Catholic families, particularly those of the constable family, Dr. Champney, &c. It must be added, however, that several Protestant writers, especially Stow in his *Annals*, and Anthony Wood in his *Antiq. Oxon.* perfectly agree with these accounts, as far as the nature of their works leads them to this subject. From these and other sources, the laborious Dodd collected his catalogue and biography of the sufferers in question, in his *Church History*, folio, vol. ii, par iv, about the beginning of

hundred and forty-two were priests, three were gentlewomen, and the remainder esquires, gentlemen, and yeomen. Amongst them fifteen were condemned for denying the queen's spiritual supremacy, one hundred and twenty-six for the exercise of their priestly functions, and the rest for being reconciled to the Catholic faith, or for being aiding and abetting to priests.— Besides these, I find a particular account, together with most of the names, of ninety priests or Catholic lay persons who died in prison, in the same reign, and of one hundred and five others who were sent into perpetual banishment.* I say nothing of many

the century; and still more recently the late R. Challoner, D. D. bishop of Debra, &c. composed his accurate and edifying *Memoirs of Missionary Priests and other Catholics, who have suffered death in England on religious accounts, from the year 1577 to 1684*, 2 vols. 8vo. [Dr. S. having, in his first edition, called for my authorities on this subject, I accordingly gave them as above. He now says in his second edition, p. 169, that he "has not access to them."—It is sufficient for me to answer that most of the books referred to are upon sale, and that the use of them is at his service, if he is pleased to call for them at my hands.] Dr. S. by way of lessening the number of Catholic sufferers during this reign, in a note to p. 74, adopts a quotation from Camden full of mistakes, which he himself still more confuses by fresh errors. To make as short of the matter as possible, we must remark, that the question is not how many priests were put to death within ten years or any other given period of Elizabeth's reign, but how many Catholics, priests and lay persons, were executed during the whole of it? The real number in each year, with the circumstances of their lives, trials, and last conflict, may be seen in the works here quoted. I must add, that it is an egregious mistake to speak of a work written by the secular clergy against the Jesuits.—No such work ever was composed. It is true indeed that one of their number, a man of a very turbulent character, published certain false and uncharitable libels, which seems to be the source whence Camden draws his account, and it is equally true, that, when he came to die, he publicly retracted and asked pardon for them, as I have before mentioned in my *History* vol. i, p. 395. [Dr. S. has, in his second edition, struck out the citation in question from Camden, because as he says "it bears marks of improbability." P. 169.]

* See Dodd's *Hist.* Challoner's *Mem.*

more who were whipped, fined,* or stripped of their property, to the utter ruin of their families. In one night fifty Catholic gentlemen, in the county of Lancaster, were suddenly seized upon and committed to prison, on account of their non-attendance at church. About the same time, I find an equal number of Yorkshire gentlemen lying prisoners in York castle on the same account, most of whom perished there. The latter were every week, for a twelve-month together, dragged by main force to hear the established service performed at the castle chapel † An account was published, by a cotemporary writer, of twelve hundred Catholics who had been in some sort or other victims of this persecution, previously to the year 1588, that is to say, during the period of its greatest lenity. ‡ I have heretofore given the number of the Puritans or other Dissenters who were put to death for their religious opinions, during this period, and I shall have occasion to mention below the continuation of the persecution against Catholics, and the number of persons who suffered in it, during the three subsequent reigns of the house of Stuart, and the interregnum of the Commonwealth. Upon a comparative view of the persecutions that have been carried on in this country, since the reformation, on both sides, it will appear that many more Catholics than Protestants have suffered capital punishment on the score of religion; and if we take into consideration the whole effect of the different penal laws, in their numberless branches, we shall find, that the sufferings of the former have been greater than those of the latter beyond all estimation.

But you have another excuse for refusing to compromise with me in the article of persecution, namely, a comparison, which you choose to institute, between the torments endured by the respective suf-

* The fine for recusancy alone was 20*l.* per month, besides pecuniary mulcts on other accounts without number.

† See a circumstantial account of their behaviour. *Memoirs*, &c. vol. i, p. 529, &c.

See *Concertatio Ecc. Cath.* by Dr. Bridgewater.

ferers on both sides ; for you say, “ if in consequence of her (Elizabeth’s) severe laws, many unhappy persons (Catholics) were put to death, it was not to a death of *torture by fire*—Mary put to death *by fire*, for there is a difference even in the manner of death, 277 persons.”* The same word *fire*, emphatically marked, occurs a third time in the same page. It is a difficult matter, even for professional persons, to pronounce on the degree of animal pain that occurs in different kinds of death ;† for my part, I apprehend that in all capital punishments this depends more upon the executioner than upon the judge. But since, Sir, you oblige me to enter upon this disgusting subject, I must tell you, with respect to the greater part of the Catholic victims, that the sentence of the law was strictly and literally executed upon them. After

* P. 74.

† It was a usual thing in these executions to tie bags of gunpowder round the sufferers, which certainly must have greatly abridged their torments ; Hooper had a pound of gunpowder under his legs, and another under each arm. See Fox. Acts, &c.—Hume in mentioning the circumstance of Latimer and Ridley having gunpowder about them at their burning, ascribes it rather to “ the humanity of the executioners than to that of the judges.” If he had looked into Fox he would have seen, that this was owing to the mercy of neither the former nor the latter, but to that of the brother-in-law of Ridley, who applied the said combustible. It is evident, however, that this merciful expedient could not have been in general used without the consent of those men in power, who directed the executions.—Having mentioned one of Hume’s errors respecting this reign, I cannot help pointing out another, however foreign to the melancholy subject now in hand, as it escaped me in writing the History of Winchester, and as it affects the veracity of this favourite author. He says, “ A few days after (Philip’s arrival at Southampton) they (queen Mary and he) were married at Westminster, and having made a pompous entry into London, she carried him to Windsor.” How roundly here does he relate a series of falsehoods ! The truth is, they were married at Winchester, July 25, from which city they removed to Basing, and thence to Windsor, where they arrived August 11. Their next step was to Richmond, whence they proceeded to Southwark, August 17, and thence, the next day, to London. See Stow, &c.

being hanged up, they were cut down alive, dismembered, ripped up, and their bowels literally burnt before their faces, after which they were beheaded and quartered. The time employed in this butchery was very considerable, and, in one instance, lasted above half an hour.* I must add, that a great number of these sufferers, as well as other Catholics, who did not endure capital punishment, were racked in the most severe and wanton manner, in order to extort proofs against themselves or their brethren.†

* See in particular the account of Hugh Green, *Mem. of Miss. v. ii, p. 224*, and that of Edmund Gennings, *vol. i, p. 274*. [After all, if dying by fire be the most cruel of all executions, it argues a defect in our laws which appoint this to be the punishment of petty treason, whilst the Catholic sufferers underwent that annexed to high treason. It is still more important to remark, that if the Catholics had recourse to the sword, it was in order to preserve an ancient establishment, whilst the Protestants made use of it in order to introduce a new one.—The former admitted a standing authority to guide men in questions of religion. The grand principle of the latter is, that every man has a right to judge for himself in these concerns.—And yet they put their neighbours to death for exercising this privilege. Will any person, after this, put the question which of the two parties was less excusable?]

† See an account of the torturing of Campian, Brian, Cottam, Sherwood, &c. *Ibid. Pref. et Passim*. This particular is confirmed by Camden, in his *Annals*, who speaking of the famous Campian says, that “he was not so racked but that he was still capable of signing his name.” It appears, from the account of one of these sufferers, that the following tortures were in use against the Catholics in the Tower: 1. The common rack, in which the limbs were stretched by levers. 2. The Scavenger’s Daughter, so called, being a hoop, in which the body was bent until the head and feet met together. 3. The chamber, called Little-Ease, being a hole so small that a person could neither stand, sit, nor lie straight in it. 4. The Iron Gauntlets. *Diar. Rer. Gest. in Turri. Lond.* In some instances needles were thrust under the prisoners nails. See *Pref. above*. [With what cruelty the Catholics were racked we may gather from the following passage in a letter from John Nichols to Cardinal Allen, by way of extenuating the guilt of his apostacy and perfidy in accusing his Catholic brethren:—“Non bona res est corpus isto cruciatu longius fieri per duos fere pedes quam natura concessit.”—Sir Owen Hopton, lieute-

I fancy, Sir, that by this time you are as tired of the subject of persecution as I am. Will you then at length enter into the proposed compromise, of not in future reproaching me with the fires, of queen Mary, upon my consenting not to upbraid you with the knives and gibbets of her sister Elizabeth? If you do not agree to this proposal, I think I can answer for it, that the reader will condemn you of folly and bigotry in refusing it.

I have the honour, &c.

POSTSCRIPT TO LETTER IV.

[Amongst the different heads of the present controversy there is none of greater importance to the English Catholics and to the nation, nor is there any on which Dr. S. and myself are more fully committed, than this of persecution. If it be proved that Catholics are bound by their principles to persecute and extirpate persons of a different religion from themselves, it is absurd in them to look up to a Protestant legislature for any extension of their civil privileges; they may rather expect to see their former chains rivetted upon them. But if this charge be refuted, there does not remain a pretext for the continuance of those penal laws, which still exist against them. Now, on various occasions, I have denied the justice of it; and particularly in my *History of Winchester*, I have unequivocally maintained that "if queen Mary was a persecutor, it was not in virtue of any tenet of her religion that she became so." At this assertion Dr. S. has declared himself perfectly

nant of the tower, was commonly the immediate instrument in these cruelties; but sometimes Elmer, bishop of London, directed them. On one occasion he caused a young lady of good birth to be cruelly scourged, when he could not prevail upon her to attend the public service. See *De Schism.* Aug. pp. 319, 328.]

“surprised,” saying, that, “if it be true, he and all other Protestants have hitherto been under an egregious mistake.” P. 52. He adds, that the declaration makes him “tremble for my orthodoxy, and fear that I am not a good Catholic.” P. 57. In short his chapter on persecution was written in order to refute the assertion, which he pledged himself to perform by the joint authority of councils, Popes, doctors, and tribunals. On the other hand, I engaged myself to meet him on each one of those points; and, by this time the reader must have decided in his own mind, which of us two has fulfilled his promise. The main argument of Dr. S. and also of Dr. Rennell and Dr. Duigenan, in support of this charge, is drawn from the third chapter of the fourth council of Lateran, held nearly 600 years ago for suppressing the rebellious Albigenes. The confidence of the enemies of Catholics in this has been extreme; and some of them have exultingly exclaimed: *The Papists cannot deny the authority of one of their own general councils.* Empty triumph! These half-learned theologues have now learnt the difference between definitions of faith and regulations of discipline. The former are of eternal and universal obligation; the latter are subject to a thousand temporary and local circumstances. In short, I have denied, in the face of the Catholic public, that any obedience whatsoever is due from them, or any of them, to the canon in question; and however Dr. S. may have *trembled for my orthodoxy*, not one person of my own communion has felt any fears on this account. I may add with respect to the above-mentioned canon, that it appears never to have been received or to have had any force at all in this kingdom. In proof of the assertion, I need only remind the reader that even John Wycliff never experienced any inconveniency whatever from the said canon, and that when his rebellious followers were afterwards suppressed, this was done, not by virtue of the council of Lateran, but by an act of parliament provided for this purpose. It is plain Dr. S. feels the importance of the distinction I have made; but surely if he dis-

covered it to be futile or defective it was incumbent on him to prove this to the public, instead of coldly replying, as he does, p. 121: "I cannot follow Mr. M. in explaining away the acts of councils." The truth is, he is not quite so confident in his cause now as he was when he first opened it against me. He accordingly in the second edition of his work, qualifies his assertion in the following manner: "If (the doctrine of persecution) be not, strictly speaking, a *theological tenet*, it follows as a corollary from that worst of theological tenets, that salvation is confined exclusively to the church of Rome. No treatment can be too bad for heretics—it becomes meritorious by temporal punishments to rescue men from eternal punishments." P. 118. I will now try the force of the corollary, as I have done that of the principle.—I presume then my adversary admits there is some meaning in that menace of Christ: *he that believeth not shall be damned*. Mat. xvi, 16, that is to say, however confined his creed may be, I suppose he holds the belief of some articles, such as the divine existence and attributes, to be indispensably necessary. I presume moreover that he subscribes to the declaration of St. Paul: *be not deceived; neither fornicators, nor idolaters—nor drunkards shall inherit the kingdom of God*. 1 Cor. vii, 9; but does Dr. S. therefore think himself obliged to avenge the cause of God upon every Pagan and libertine he meets with? Does he think it meritorious to endeavour, by temporal punishments, to rescue such sinners from those that are eternal? In a word history and experience prove that this outcry against Catholics, as persecutors, is generally heard from men of intolerant principles, who make use of it as a pretext for persecuting them.

LETTER V.

SIR,

Your fifth letter is a professed vindication of the reformation, as it was carried on in foreign countries, and in our own. But when Sir, you undertook to defend the reformation against my History, ought not you to have shewn in what manner it had therein been attacked? This, however, you have not attempted to do, but have unnecessarily dragged into public dispute a subject of peculiar delicacy, which otherwise I wished to abstain from discussing on the present occasion. If then, Sir, you should now hear from me several unwelcome truths, with respect both to facts and characters, you will have to blame yourself alone for obliging me to refute your false statements, in order to do the best justice in my power to the cause of which I am the advocate.

It is the usual practice with most modern writers who mention the reformation, to begin with drawing the most hideous caricature their pencils can trace, of the tyranny of Popes, and of the ignorance, superstition, and immorality of the clergy and people of Christendom, previously to that event. I have already discussed the conduct of the Popes; and have shewn that whenever they exceeded the just bounds of their authority, Catholic divines were not wanting with the pen, nor Catholic princes with the sword, to restrain their attempts. With respect to the alleged ignorance of the ages in question, I deny that this by any means prevailed to the extent that you and most other modern writers represent. Thus far, most certainly, Sir, you are guilty of misrepresentation, when you say, that "the mass of ancient literature lay dormant, unnoticed, and perishing during so many ages."* In fact, Sir, where was this preserved for 1000 years and more? Where was it found when the art of printing began to disperse the copies of it amongst the people at large,

* P. 61.

except in the libraries of the monks, who if they had not known how to value it, would not have renewed it, as they constantly did, with the labour of their own hands, but would rather have destroyed the whole of it, as the first reformers, in their devastations of monastic manuscripts, destroyed such considerable portions of it? But to put the matter out of question, let us look into the works that have come down to us from the ages that are most reproached for ignorance; we shall find their writers, both at home and abroad, to have been no strangers to the merit, or to the compositions of Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Cicero, Plutarch, Seneca, Livy, and other Classical authors. With respect to many of those "historians of barbarous and obscure times," as you term them,* such as Ingulphus, William of Malmsbury, Henry of Huntingdon, Roger Hoveden, Mathew Paris,† &c. I maintain that they shew more good sense and solidity of reflection, no less than greater impartiality and love of truth, than most of the celebrated writers of later times. In a word, Sir, can we suppose those ages to have been destitute either of learning or taste, which produced, and knew how to admire, an Anselm, a Bernard, a John of Salisbury, an Aquinas ‡ a Gerson,

* P. 5.

† Sir Henry Saville preferred William of Malmsbury to all the English historians whom he was acquainted with, both for judiciousness and fidelity. *Rer. Anglic. Scrip. Ep. Ded.* In our own times Warburton has affirmed the same of Mathew Paris.]

‡ It is very much the fashion with modern writers to ridicule the works of St. Thomas Aquinas, as specimens of false reasoning and nonsense, who, at the same time, have never so much as looked into them, which Dr. S. acknowledges to be the case with himself, p. 66. Were it in my power to persuade any of these gentlemen to try their skill in refuting the first half dozen conclusions they meet with, in the *Summa Theologiæ*, I am persuaded they would shut the book with a much better opinion of the author's talents than they opened it. If after this they will take the trouble to analyse, in a regular logical way, the arguments of some of the most celebrated treatises and discourses of the present day, and observe in what manner the conclusions are frequently drawn from the premises, they will discover the advantage of the ancient syllogistic method of in-

a Tostatus,* a Dante, a Petrarch, and a Chaucer?

If from surveying the state of Literature during the ages, which you speak of with so much contempt, we turn our eyes to the condition of the arts, we shall find, in the mouldering monuments of them, specimens capable of humbling our pride at the present day, with all our superior advantages.† Look at the works of Wykehan and of Fox, or at the chantries of Beaufort and Waynflete in our own cathedral. Survey King's college chappel, Lincoln cathedral, or York minster, and reflect, Sir, what sublimity of invention, what mathematical precision and combination, and what delicacy of execution were requisite to make those sacred edifices what they originally were. If York-minster were now destroyed, it is acknowledged, that all the science and art of the Royal Academy could not restore it. And if architects and artists were even found for the work, it would exhaust the purse of a sovereign to carry it into execution.

The most important part, however, of the present enquiry is that which regards the state of religion and morality during the middle ages. You, Sir, with most modern writers, represent these as sunk into superstition‡ and vice, and you argue as if they were ex-

vestigating the truth over the vague and inconclusive style that has prevailed in latter ages.

* Alphonsus Tostatus was a Spanish divine of the 15th century, of such universal and profound learning, that he has been allowed to be worthy of the following epitaph, which was made upon him:

“Hic stupor est mundi, qui scibile discutit omne.”

† [Amongst other arts or useful inventions, for which we are absolutely indebted to the middle age, are printing, the mariner's compass, gunpowder, artillery, spectacles, telescopes, looking-glasses, glass windows to our houses, bells, organs, the musical scale, clocks, watches. Nor are we less indebted to them for what they have abolished, namely, slavery, gladiators, wars of extermination, &c.]

‡ On the subject of superstition Dr. S. refers me to Tetzels Theses, which he knows to have been condemned by the Pope's nuncio, Miltitz himself, and to the Rev. Mr. Townsend's *Travels* ~~and~~ reflections in general on subjects of religion, part-

unct, and no longer to be found upon the earth, until they were revived by the agency of such reformers as were Luther, Calvin, Henry VIII, Cranmer, the duke of Somerset, and queen Elizabeth ! The very idea is revolting to persons conversant with the history of the ages in question. To convince yourself of your error; let me request you to turn to the canons of the councils that were so frequently held during those ages, and to examine whether the vital principles and the genuine spirit of christianity were not constantly maintained and enforced in these representative assemblies of the universal church. Read the works of the most celebrated ascetical writers of the times, viz. those of a Bernard, a Bonaventure, an Antonius, a Vincent Ferrier, a Thaulerus, a Gerson, a Thomas of Kempis,* Peruse the accounts that have been left us of their lives, with those of their contemporaries who have been equally celebrated for their sanctity, such as an Edmond Rich, a Thomas Cantelupe, a Richard de Wyche, a Francis of Asissium, a Louis IX. of France, or a Henry VI. of England, and tell

ly from prejudice, and partly from misapprehension, are a-kin to those of Dr. S. himself. [Dr. S. now says, p. 142, " Indeed I did not know it ;" viz. that Miltitz condemned Tetzel's extravagancies. He will however find this to have been the case on consulting Mosheim by Maclaine, Fleury's Continuation, Maimbourg, and the historians of the period in general, who represent Tetzel to have died of chagrin in consequence of his treatment.]

* Amongst numerous other works of this author, written in the same spirit, was the celebrated one under the name of *The following of Christ*, which has been translated into most modern languages, and is well known to Protestants as well as to Catholics.—Dr. S. assigns, as one of the causes of the Reformation, the dispersion of the learned Greeks throughout the West, on the capture of Constantinople. But if they contributed to reform us, why did not they make any advances towards reforming themselves ? It is an indisputable fact, that the Greek church, separated as it has almost always been from the Latin church, since the 9th century, has nevertheless uniformly maintained every one of the distinctive articles which Catholics support against the different classes of the Reformation.

me, whether the practice of all the christian virtues, inculcated by our Saviour Christ, in his divine sermon on the mountain,* could be more strongly recommended both by precept, and by example, than they were by the writers and the holy personages whom I have mentioned. But not to go out of the precincts of our own city, tell me, Sir, sincerely, whether you think that its first prelates of the reformed persuasion, viz. Poynt, Horne, Watson, Cooper, and Bilson are to be preferred to, or even compared with their predecessors White,† Fox, Langton, Courtney, Waynflete, Beaufort,‡ and Wykeham, for assiduity in prayer and other spiritual functions, for chastity, self-denial, meekness, and works of piety and charity in general.

I grant, however, there was an increasing spirit of irreligion and immorality amongst different nations, and in none more so than our own. during a considerable time previous to the Reformation. But the question, Sir, is, whether this spirit contributed to produce that event, as a cause which produces its effect, or merely as an occasion, namely, by exciting men of piety and morality to counteract it? In order to decide this question, we cannot make use of a better criterion than that which is laid down in the gospel, viz. to judge of the tree by its fruits. If then the authors and abettors of the Reformation were found to be the persons most distinguished in each country for their piety and purity of life, or if even a visible amendment in their religious and moral conduct was the consequences of their embracing it; in a word, if the bulk of the people who went over to this cause were proved to be thereby more addicted to prayer and alms-deeds, more chaste, more temperate, more meek and patient, more submissive to their lawful superiors, and more amenable to the laws of the respective states

* St. Mat. chapters iv. v, vi.

† I do not speak of Gardiner, because he played a double part, having been equally active and violent on both sides.

‡ See a Vindication of Beaufort's religious character, from the misrepresentations of Shakespear. Hist. vol. i, pp. 301, 302.

under which they lived, than they had been whilst they were Catholics, this will form a strong presumption of their being influenced by motives of religion and genuine reformation in the choice they made, and that this work was truly the work of God. But if it appear, that the Reformation was in every place where it prevailed, attended with precisely the opposite consequences, I shall leave you, Sir, to draw the conclusion. To elucidate this important subject, I will not here have recourse to Catholic authors, or indeed to any others, except to those whom you yourself have celebrated, namely, the fathers, founders, and chief abettors of this very cause.

Let us first hear Martin Luther, who is well known to have set on foot these religious changes in Germany, in the year 1517. Some of his words to the present purpose are these : “ The world grows every day worse and worse. It is plain that men are much more covetous, malicious, and resentful, much more unruly shameless, and full of vice, than they were in the time of Popery.* “ Formerly, when we were seduced by the Pope men willingly followed good works, but now all their study is to get every thing to themselves, by exactions, pillage, theft, lying, usury.”† “ It is a wonderful thing, and full of scandal, that from the time when the pure doctrine was first called to light, the world should daily grow worse and worse.”‡ Amongst the immediate disciples of Luther, I shall content myself with the famous Bucer’s testimony to the same effect : “ The greater part of the people seem only to have embraced the gospel, in order to shake off the yoke of discipline, and the obligation of fasting,

* “ *Magis vindictæ cupidos, magis avaros, magis ab omni misericordia remotos, magis immodestos et indisciplinatos, multoque deteriores quam fuerint in Papatu.*” Luth. Sermon in Postill. Evang. i. Adv.

† Luth. Sermon. Dom. 26, post Trin.

‡ Luth. in Sermon. Conviv. [“ Since the appearance of the gospel (viz. the Reformation) virtue seems to be utterly extinct, and piety driven out of the world.” This declaration is ascribed to Luther by one of his disciples, Aurifaber, [who has written his life.]

penance, &c. which lay upon them in the time of Popery ; and to live at their pleasure, enjoying their lust and lawless appetites without controul. They therefore lend a willing ear to the doctrine that we are justified by faith alone and not by good works, having no relish for them.”* The testimony of the second great patriarch of the Reformation to the same purpose is equally forcible : “Of so many thousands seemingly eager in embracing the gospel, how few have since amended their lives? Nay, to what else does the greater part pretend, except by shaking off the heavy yoke of superstition to launch out more freely in every kind of lasciviousness.”†

Amongst the principle authors of the Reformation, as well as restorers of literature, you place the famous Erasmus.‡ Certain it is, that he was an eye-witness of the effects of it on the manners of the greater part of Europe that adopted it. Let us then listen to his evidence on this subject : “What an evangelical generation is this? Nothing was ever seen more licentious and more seditious. Nothing is less evangelical than these pretended gospellers.”§ “Take notice of this evangelical people, and shew me an individual amongst them all who from being a drunkard has become sober, from being a libertine has become chaste. I, on the other hand, can shew you many who have become worse by the change.”**—“Those whom I once knew to have been chaste, sincere, and without fraud, I found, after they had embraced this sect, to be licentious in their conversation, gamblers, neglectful

* Bucer de Regn. Christ. l. i, c. 4. Another learned Lutheran. Wolfgang Musculus. Loci Commun. de Decalog. bears much the same testimony.

† “Ut excusso superstitionum jugo solutius in omnem lasciviam diffuerent.” Calv. l. vi. de Scand.

‡ P. 76.

§ Erasm. Ep. l. vi, 4.

** “Circumspice populum illum evangelicum et profer mihi quem istud evangelium ex comessatore sobrium, ex impudico reddiderit verecundum. Ego tibi multos ostendam qui facti sunt seipsis deteriores.” Erasm. Spong. advers. Hutten. A. D. 1529.

of prayer, passionate, vain, as spiteful as serpents, and lost to the feelings of human nature. I speak from experience.* I fancy, Sir, you had not met with these testimonies when you pronounced so pompous a panegyric on the religion of Erasmus.†

* "Quos antea noveram puros, candidos, et fuci ignaros, eosdem vidi, ubi sectæ se dedissent, loqui cœpisse de puellis, luisse aleam, abjecisse preces, impatientissimos omnis injuriæ vanos, viperinos in moribus, ac prorsus hominem exuisse.—Expertus loquor." *Erasm. ad Frat. Infer. Germ.*—Sleidan speaks of these testimonies of Erasmus, at the end of the 6th book of his *Comment. de Stat. Relig. &c.* Amongst the vices which Erasmus objects to the first Reformers, were their turbulence and sedition: "I beheld them coming from their sermons with fierce and threatening countenances, like men that had been hearing bloody invectives," &c. *Ep. l. xix., 113.* also *De Libero Arbit.* Luther in his answer *De Serv. Arbit.* boasts of the wars and bloodshed which his preaching had occasioned.—[See also his speech at the diet of Worms, *Sleidan, Com. l. iii.* "Me delectat dum video doctrinam meam his offensionibus atque turbis occasionem præbere." How extensive, inveterate, and fatal these calamities were in Germany, France, Switzerland, and most parts of Europe, all history testifies. The scourge of religious warfare reached this country later, but it was inflicted with proportionable severity in the grand rebellion, which was chiefly begun and carried on under the pretext of ridding the nation of Popery.

* It is true, that Erasmus in some of his earlier works played off his wit in ridiculing the superstitions of the people in a manner that sometimes injured religion itself; but there is abundant proof of his subsequent remorse for these profane sallies, and of the sincerity of his belief in the Catholic doctrines. In one of his epistles he reproaches the Protestants with having set fire to the house in order to destroy the cobwebs in it. In another epistle, quoted by Surius the Carthusian, addressed to a monk of his order who was tempted to quit his solitude, in order to enjoy the liberty of the Reformation, Erasmus writes thus: "I see no man better, but all worse, for this evangelical liberty, so that I am heartily grieved for all that I have heretofore written or said in favour of it." He proceeds to describe, in the most odious colours, the profligacy of the apostate and married priests who over-ran Germany, and concludes with declaring, that if he had strength of body for the undertaking, he would rather join the Carthusian to whom he writes, in his secluded convent, than become the chief favourite in Cæsar's palace. *Surius, Hist. ad an. 1536.*

To return now to our own country, in order to survey there the effects of the reformation, in its several stages, upon the morals of the people ; let us first attend to the royal declaration of that king who laid the foundation of it, Henry VIII, in a speech which he delivered in parliament the year before his death. Having then complained of the abuse which the people made of the permission he had granted them to read the scriptures in the vulgar tongue, by "their own phantastical opinions and vain expositions," instead of consulting him their spiritual head, he goes on : "I am sure that charitie was never so faint amongst you and vertuous and godlie living was never less used, nor God himselfe amongst christians was never less reverenced, honoured, or served."* That the state of morality was not rendered better, but rather infinitely worse, in the following reign, when the Protestant religion was fully developed and established, we have abundant and undeniable evidence in the confessions of the most zealous advocates and abettors of that cause. The following is bishop Burnet's account of the state of morality under Edward VI : "the sins of England did at that time call down from heaven heavy curses on the land. They are sadly expressed in a discourse that Ridley wrote soon after, under the title of *The Lamentation of England* : he says, that lechery, oppression, pride, couvetousness, and a hatred and scorn of all religion, were generally spread amongst all people, but chiefly those of the higher ranks."† Ridley's fellow bishop, Latimer, speaks still more openly as to one particular vice, in a sermon preached before the king and quoted by Heylin. His words are these : "lechery is used in England, and such lechery as is used in no other part of the world. And it is made a matter of sport, a trifle not to be passed on or reformed."— To remedy this, he begs that the church may be reinstated in "her right of excommunicating notable offenders, by putting them out of the congregation."‡—

* Stow's Annals, an. 1546.

† Hist. of Reform. of Engl. part II, p. 226.

‡ Heylen's Hist. of Ref. Edw. VI, an. 1550.

The laborious collector, Strype, though a most zealous advocate for the cause of the reformation, yet draws a most frightful picture of the wickedness which prevailed throughout the nation, after its first establishment there, that is to be met with in history. The account is too long to be here inserted at length, but it is comprised under the following heads: "the covetousness of the nobility and gentry; the oppressions of the poor; no redress at law; the judges ready to barter justice for money; impunity of murders; the clergy very bad from the bishops to the curates; and above all, the increase of adulteries and whoredom."* The historian Camden's description of these times agrees with that of the former writers. He says "the sacrilegious avarice of the times rapaciously seized upon colleges, chantries, and hospitals, under the pretence of superstition, whilst ambition and jealousy amongst the great, and insolence and sedition amongst the people, swelled to such a pitch, that England seemed to be raging mad with rebellions, tumults, party zeal, &c."† During the reign of Elizabeth, though the civil state of the realm was better regulated, yet in private life the vices of individuals in every rank, rose to the same height of profligacy as before. Of this we have the testimony of contemporary Protestant writers,‡ and we shall meet with too many proofs of it,

* Strype's Memorials Ecclesiastical, Book II, c, xxiii—I do not know whether the following extract from a court sermon is more a proof of the corruption of the tribunals, or of the indecency of the pulpits, at that period. It was preached by the famous Latimer, before Edward VI. "There lacketh a fourth to make up the mess, which, so God help me, If I were judge, should be *Hangum tuum* a tyburn typpet, to take with him, if it were the judge of the king's-bench, the lord chief justice of England, yea if it be my lord chancellor himself; to Tyburn with him." And again, speaking of a judge who took bribes. "I would wish that of such a judge in England now we might have his skin hanged up. It were a goodly sight, the sign of the judg's skin." Ibid, p. 440.

† Camden, Appar. ad Annal. Eliz.

* Stubb's Motives to Good Works, with an epistle dedicatorie to the lord mayor of London, an. 1596, where amongst other things, he asserts, that the observation of Luther, quoted

particularly the conduct of the queen and her ministers, in a subsequent letter. [There is still less appearance of piety or morality in the scene which the reformation of Scotland exhibits. The mind is perfectly amazed and confounded at the sight of such deep and complicated injustice, treachery, hypocrisy, sedition, forgery, and barbarity, as from the characters of Murray, Morton, Lexington, Bothwell, Balfour, Knox, Black, Buchanan, and all the other prime movers in the aforesaid work. See Robertson, Stuart, Whitaker, Causin, &c]

In the sketch that you draw of the reformation, you seem sensible, Sir, of the difficulty of the task which so many able writers have in vain attempted before you,* namely, that of giving such a general history of its proceedings and effects, in improving the piety and morals of the people, as to make it pass for the work of God. You therefore choose to rest your defence of this cause on certain shining characters, more particularly connected with it, whose virtue, you seem to think, will illuminate many others of a darker aspect. You indeed expressly give up the character of Henry VIII, who laid the foundation of it in this kingdom, calling him "a Pope and a tyrant ;"† and you tacitly abandon those of the duke of Somerset, who chiefly raised its structure under the authority of his nephew, Edward VI ; as also of queen Elizabeth, who restored it, after it had been destroyed by her predecessor, Mary. In fact, Somerset and Elizabeth proved to be as arbitrary and tyrannical, in the ma-

above, p. 145, still holds good. R. Jeffery in his Sermon at St. Paul's Cross, an. 1604, speaks to the same effect. [The aforesaid Stubb says farther: "For good works who sees not that they (the papists of former times) were far beyond us, and we far behind them. p. 44.

* Heylin, Burnet, Fuller, Strype, Collier. See the declaration of the duchess of York, chancellor Hyde's daughter, concerning the effect which the perusal of the History of the Reformation by the first named author caused in her, in the duke of Brunswick's Fifty Reasons, and Dodd's Eccles. Hist. vol. iii, p. 397.

† P. 63.

nagement of religious matters, as Henry himself had been.* The personages then whom you choose for the subject of your penegyric are Wycliff, Luther, Erasmus, Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and Hooper.—I have already reviewed two of these characters, Wycliff and Erasmus, and I have placed them in such opposite though faithful lights from those in which you had represented them, that I hardly think they will any longer be the objects of your praise or partiality.

It was natural for you to speak with rapture of Martin Luther, since you consider him as “the instrument of Providence for accomplishing the most important purposes, and the person to whom are to be attributed all the branches of the reformation, which spread over the different parts of Europe, after he had first planted it in Germany.”† You admit indeed, that “he was, in his manners and writings, coarse, presuming, and impetuous ;” but these, you assert, “were qualities

* I have, in my History, vol. i, pp. 365, 366, produced proofs of Elizabeth having assumed a loftier tone of infallibility, and exercised a more arbitrary spiritual authority, than ever were claimed by any Pope since the days of St. Peter. Hear now in what a style Seymour obliges his royal nephew, then a child only ten years old, to assert the same prerogatives, in order that he himself might have the use of them. “We would not have our subjects so much mistake our judgment, or so much mistrust our zeal, as though we could not discern what ought to be done, or would not do all things in due time. God be praised, we know both what, by his word, is meet to be redressed, and have an earnest mind, with all convenient speed, to set forth the same.” Collier, Ecc. Hist. vol. ii, p. 246.—This ecclesiastical despot opened his protectorship by altering the established religion of the country, in a great variety of articles, by his own authority and without any act of parliament. See Heylin, pp. 34, 35. Burnet, Collect. no. vii. He began with reducing the bishops to such servility as to oblige them to take out a new commission for governing their dioceses during the royal pleasure, that is to say, during his own, (*licentiam ad nostrum bene placitum dumtaxat duraturam*, Burn. Collect. no. xi) and he issued various mandates to them, regulating the liturgy, the manner of receiving the sacrament, &c. with the most arbitrary and absolute authority.—Heylin. Hist. pp. 55, 56, 58, 59.

† P. 76.

allied with those which alone made him capable of supporting well the extraordinary character in which he appeared.”* What this character was, you have not expressed, but he himself has informed us, viz. he says it was the same, which had been supernaturally conferred on the prophets and apostles : “ Martin Luther, *Ecclesiastes*,† of Wittenberg....for,” says he, “ it is not fitting that I should be without a title, having received the work of the ministry, not from man, or by man, but by the gift of God, and the revelation of Jesus Christ.”‡ Now, Sir, supposing Luther’s commission to have been as sublime and as arduous as was that of the apostles, I wish first to ask you, if “ coarseness of manners and writing, presumption and impetuosity,” were allied with the character of these envoys of the meek Jesus ? Secondly, if it was found that the latter could not succeed in their great work without qualities of this complexion ? Lastly, I beg leave to enquire how far the language and behaviour of Martin Luther correspond with the ideas we naturally form of a chosen instrument of Providence, a new Elias, and an *Ecclesiastes* commissioned by divine revelation.

In the first place, it was natural to expect, that a personage of this character would have entered upon the ministry of reforming the religion of Christendom, from a thorough conviction of the errors with which it was infected, in short, from a principle of conscience. But no such thing. It was a private quarrel between Luther’s order, the Augustine friars, and a rival order, the Dominicans, in a matter of honour and profit, which first occasioned him to commence

* P. 76.

† The title of the writer of one of the books in the Old Testament.

‡ *Adversus falso nomin. Episcop. Ord. tom. ii, fol. 329.*— [In another of his treatises he styles himself, Luther the second Elias and the chariot of Israel.” *Lib. de fals. Stat.* In his book against the king of England he says : “ My ministry and calling are of that excellency that it is in vain for princes or any persons on earth to expect submission or forbearance from me.”]

reformer.* He after this continued to submit himself to the Pope, as long as he had any prospect of cajoling or intimidating him; † and it was only when his doctrines were condemned by the authority, to which he himself had appealed, that he boasted of setting himself in opposition to the united belief of all the Christians in the world.‡ He proceeded in his career with the same bad faith with which he had entered upon it taking up his theological opinions from sudden gusts of passion and revenge; as, when being called upon to retract a certain condemned position of Huss, which he had advanced, he furiously exclaimed, that all the positions of Huss were true,§ which, in other circumstances he loudly condemned.** Thus also he acknowledges that he had tried to persuade himself of there being no real presence of Christ in the sacrament, on purpose *to spite the Pope*, but that the words of scripture were too plain in favour of it.†† In like manner he

* Sleidan, Comment. l. i. "Casu non voluntate in has turbas incidi Deum testor." Luth. Præf. Op.

† Opera Luth. tom. i.

‡ Ibid. Præfat. [See also the preface to his book *De Abrog. Miss. Priv.* in which he testifies the difficulty he at first experienced in condemning the Pope, and all the prelates and universities of the earth. "How often" says he, "did my trembling heart ask me, art thou alone right? Is all the world besides thee involved in error?"

§ Assert. Artic. per Leon. X. condemn. Opera Luth. tom. ii. 114.

** "Nunquam mihi placuit nec in æternum placebit Husse." Luth. in Collat. cum Eck. Cochleus in Act. Luth. 1519.

†† "Hoc diffiteri non possum, nec volo: quod si Carlostadius aut quispiam alius, ante quinquennium, mihi persuadere potuisset in sacramento præter panem ac vinum nihil esse, ille magno beneficio me sibi devinctum reddidisset. Gravibus enim curis in hac excutienda materia desudebam: omnibus nervis me extricare et expedire conatus sum: *cum probe perspiciebam hac re papatui cum primis me valde incommodare posse.* Verum ego me captum video, nulla elabendi via relictâ. Textus enim evangelii nimis apertus est." Luth. Epist. ad Argentin. tom. vii. fol. 502. [In the same spirit he says, "If a council ordained or permitted both kinds in the sacrament, in spite of the council we would take but once, or we would take neither, and curse those who acted otherwise. Formul. Miss. T. 11.—" *¶*

plainly proclaims to the whole body of Protestants, in case they presume to consult together and determine about their common belief, that he will return back to the ancient church, and revoke every word he had ever written or taught against it ;* telling them, that even in acting right, when they acted without his authority, they were plunging themselves into the jaws of hell.†

Again, Sir, we have a right to expect from a new apostle, a second Elisha, that if he have any supernatural communication, it should be with no other than with celestial spirits. Instead of this, Luther has published to the world, not only that he held frequent communications with the devil,‡ but also that he learn-

a council gave churchmen leave to marry, it would be more pleasing to God to keep three whores, than to marry under such permission."—Thus also, writing against those who had presumed to altar the public service without his authority, he says, "I knew very well that the elevation of the sacrament was idolatrous, but I retained it out of spite to that devil Carlostadius." *Confess. Parv.*"—Finally, in his letter to the Vaudois, he says : "I have hitherto thought it of small consequence whether the bread remains in the sacrament or no, but now to spite the Papists I am determined to believe that it does remain." *Op. Tom. 11.]*

* "Quod si communibus istis constitutionibus id quod destinatis perficeritis, non dubitabo funem reducere, et omnium quæ aut scripsi aut docui palinodiam canere, et a vobis descisere : hoc vobis dictum esto." *Sermo. Luth. tom. vii. fol. 276.*

† "Coram Papa et inflatis illis turgidisque capitibus facile quidem pro vobis causam dicerem. Atqui Diabolo vos purgare non ita proclive mihi est. Quum Cacodæmon iis qui hujus rei capita fuerunt ac designatores in mortis conflictatione hos et similes scripturæ locos objiciet, *omnis plantatio, &c. Currebant et non mittebam eos, &c.* qui quæso subsistent? In inferorum fauces eos recte præcipitabit." *Tom. vii, fol. 274.*

‡ Melchior Adams, and Manlius, his own followers, who have written his life, speak of many other apparitions of the devil to him. Luther himself, in one of his sermons, according to Cochleus, affirmed that he had "eat more than a bushel of salt with Satan," and in his *Colloquies*, which are translated into English, he describes himself as constantly haunted by the Devil, who, he says, "sleeps nearer to me than my wife Catherine."

ed the most material part of his whole Reformation, namely, the abolition of the mass, from him. You will find, Sir, in his treatise on that subject, an account of satan's appearing to him by night, and of a long dialogue that passed between them, in which Luther defends the mass, and the devil argues against it. The conclusion is, that the new apostle yields to the motives suggested by his infernal antagonist, and adopts the important reform which he proposes.*

* "Contigit me semel sub mediam noctem subito expergesieri. Ibi Satan mecum cepit ejusmodi disputationem: Audi, inquit, Luther, doctor perdocte, nosti etiam te quindecim annis celebrasse missas privatas pene quotidie? Quid si tales missæ privatæ horrenda esset idololatria? Cui respondi sum unctus sacerdos....hæc omnia feci ex mandato et obedientia majorum: hæc nosti. Hoc, inquit, totum est verum; sed Turcæ et Gentiles etiam faciunt omnia in suis templis ex obedientia. In his angustiis, in hoc agone contra Diabolum volebam retundere hostem armis quibus assuetus sum sub papatu, &c. Verum Satan è contra, fortius et vehementius instans; age, inquit, prome ubi scriptum est quod homo impius possit consecrare, &c. Atque ultra ursit Satan; ergo non consecrasti, &c. Quæ est hæc inaudita abominatio in cælo et in terra!....Hæc fere erat disputationis summa." Opera Luth. De Unct. et Miss. Priv. tom. vii, fol. 228, 229, 230. N. B. As it is possible that Dr. S. or some of his friends may fancy there is some fraud or mistake on my part or on that of the editors, I have the works of Luther, in 8 vols. folio, printed at Wittenberg in 1558 under the inspection of Melancthon, at his or their service if they chuse to call for them. [This celebrated conference of Luther with the Devil has strangely embarrassed some of his followers. Joannes Regius, in his apology for the Confession of Augsburg, is divided whether the spirit in question was good or bad, and attempts to defend the honour of his master on both suppositions. The famous Chillingworth supposes that the intention of Satan in arguing against the Mass, was to induce his antagonist to persevere in saying it. See his Relig. of Prot. This however is not doing justice to the sagacity and experience of the tempter. If he had really wished to make Luther constant in this practice, he would have prevailed upon the Pope and bishops particularly to interdict it to him. N. B. The first enemy of the real presence, Zuinglius professes also to have learnt his main argument against it from a spirit which appeared to him in the night. But whether it was a black spirit or a white one, he declares, he does not remember. Lib. de Subsidiis Euch. tom. 11.]

In a word, Sir, we should have expected in a professed reformer of Christianity, the strictest morality, both of life and doctrine, and the most edifying piety, modesty, meekness, and charity. Let us examine, in a few words, how far Martin Luther was possessed of this character. He tells us, that whilst he continued a Catholic monk he "observed chastity, obedience, and poverty, and that being free from worldly cares he gave himself up to fasting, watching, and prayer;"* whereas, after he commenced reformer, he describes himself as raging with the most violent concupiscence,† to satisfy which he broke through his solemn vow of continency, in direct opposition to his former doctrine.‡ by marrying a religious woman who was under the same obligations. He then proceeded to teach the shameful lessons we have seen above;§ and others still more licentious, such as the permission, in certain cases, of concubinage and polygamy,** and that pestilential doctrine, which is the utter destruction of all morality; that there is no freedom in human actions. [He accordingly asserts that "free will is an empty name, and that when it does its best it sins mortally:"†† that "it is like a horse; if God sit thereon

* Comment. ad. Gal. c. i, tom. v.

† In Colloq. Mensal. "Ut non est in meis viribus situm ut vir non sim, tam non est mei juris ut absque muliere sim."—Serm. de Matrim. tom. v, p. 119.

‡ Septima species (Impudicitia) est sacrilegium, ubi jam non tantum castitas polluitur, sed etiam quæ Deo soli oblata fuit tollitur, et sanctum profanatur. In religiosis gravissimum est, quia sponte sese consecraverunt Deo et rursum se subtrahunt." Declam. Pop. tom. i, fol. 36.

§ P. 82.

** "Tertia ratio divortii est ubi alter alteri subduxerit, ut debitam benevolentiam persolvere nolit, aut habitare cum renue-rit. Hic oportum est ut maritus dicat: *Si tu nolueris, alter volet: si domina nolit, adveniat ancilla.*" Serm. de Matrim. tom. v, fol. 123. See also the dispensation granted by Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, and five other ministers to the prince of Hesse Cassel to have two wives at a time, first published by a descendant of that prince, and copied by Bossuet, Variat. l. vi.

[* Advers. Execr. Bull. tom. ii.

it goes as he wills, if it be ridden by the devil, it moves as he pleases :”* that “when the scripture commands good works we are to understand it to forbid them, because we cannot do them ;”† that “a baptised person cannot lose his soul whatever sins he commit, provided he believe ; in as much as no sin can damn us except infidelity.”‡ The system contained in these propositions, Luther himself on several occasions proclaims to be the quintessence and characteristic of the Reformation, and that every other controverted point was a mere trifle compared with it.§ Need we wonder at the multitude of proselytes to such a theory, or at their subsequent conduct ?] But how shall I speak of the phrenetic fury and outrageous abuse to which he abandons himself, and of his indecent buffoonery against all those persons, of whatever dignity, whether in church or state, who venture to oppose him ! You admit, Sir, that his language is “coarse, impetuous, and presuming.” But are these the proper qualifications for such excesses ? The usual flowers of his speech, when addressing the Pope and other Catholic prelates, are : villain, thief, traitor, apostle of the devil, bishop of Sodomites ;**

[* De Serv. Arb. tom. ii.

[† Tom. iii.

[‡ De Cap. Bab.

§ See the whole treatise of Luther against Erasmus, *De Servo Arbitrio*, in the later editions of which many of the more extravagant expressions that occur in the former are omitted.—The authors of the *New Biographical Dictionary* deny that Erasmus’s work against Luther, *Diatribæ de Libero Arbitrio*, had any thing to do with Luther’s dispute with the Pope. Luther himself however says direct to the contrary, and acknowledges that the question, whether man is possessed of free-will or not, is the very hinge of his whole doctrine. He thus addresses Erasmus, “*Hoc in te vehementer laudo quod solus rem ipsam es aggressus, hoc est summam causæ, nec me fatigaris alienis istis causis de papatu, purgatorio, indulgentiis et similibus nugis, potius quam causis, in quibus me hactenus omnes fere venati sunt frustra. Unus tu solus cardinem rerum vidisti et ipsum jugulum petisti.*” Luth. de Serv. Arbit. tom. ii, fol. 525.

* *Adversus Papatum passim.* Tom. vii.

and the extent of his charity to them is to wish that their bowels were torn out, that they were cast into the Mediterranean sea, or into the flames, and that they were hurried away to the devil!* There are other passages, in great number, too indecent to admit of being translated at all. Indeed, I almost blush to soil my paper with transcribing some of them into my notes below, in the original Latin.† His treatment of the king of England, Henry VIII, with whom, as I have related,‡ he had at one time a theological controversy, [though afterwards they grew into a better understanding with each other.]§ was not more respectful than his treatment of the Popes. Luther makes no difficulty to call his royal antagonist, a Thomistical pig, an ass, a jakes, a dunghill, the spawn of an adder, a basilisk, a lying buffoon disguised in a king's robe, a mad fool with a frothy mouth and a whorish face. He even addresses him as follows: You lie, you stupid and sacrilegious king.**

* *Adversus Papatum passim.* Tom. vii.

† “Sunt (papæ, &c.) desperati et perditī nebulones, latrones, proditores, mendaces, et ipsissima sentina omnium sceleratissimorum hominum qui vivunt. Ibid. tom. vii, fol. 151.—“Consultius foret, si imperator et status imperii permetterent, sceleratos istos nebulones (papam et cardinales) perpetuo ad Satanam properare.....Si detractant concilia.....facimus eis jus concacandi femoralia et a collo suspendendi.”—Our Reformer next addresses himself to Pope Paul III, in the following terms: “Progredere caute, care mi Paulule, mi afine, ne subsilias.—Ah mi pap-aselle ne subsilias, charissime mi asselule, ne facias, ne forte labaris.....et si forte inter cadendum tuam podicis animam amitteres, tum toti mundo te ridendum propinares, dicere-que: Vah Diabolo ut pap-asinus se totum fœdavit!.....Horrebam et profecto putabam me tonitrus fragorem audire, tam magnum et terribilem crepitum ventris papasinus iste deflabat.”—Ibid. The same kind of filthy ideas runs through several others of this grave divine's treatises, no less than through that which I have quoted. In tom. ii, fol. 424, we are presented with a caricature wooden print of a *papasinus* or *pope-ass*, according to Luther's idea of one; and fol. 429, with that of a *monacho-vitulus*, or *monk-calf*.

‡ Vol. i, p. 321.

§ See Epis. Luth. ad Reg. Ang. an. 1525, tom. ii, fol. 533.

** *Contra Reg. Angl. an. 1522, tom. ii, fol. 356, &c. passim.*
In the original edition of this treatise as quoted by Sir Thomas

You will probably be offended with this portrait of the first reformer; but remember, Sir, it is not I who trace it, but it comes from his own pen. There was no question concerning Luther's writing or character, until you introduced a panegyric upon them, in order to make me pass for a writer who had in some indirect way traduced them. But why, Sir, after all, should you be so solicitous for the credit of Martin Luther, since he has before hand undermined your's* and has even excluded you from every degree of religious intercourse or communion with him? For you declare yourself in your writings, to be of the opinion of those, who in the time of Luther were called Sacramentarians, that is to say, you do not admit a real and corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament.† This was a sufficient motive for him to pour out in advance against you the same foul-mouthed epithets and curses which he employed against the Pope. Yes, Sir, again and again does he devote you to everlasting perdition; he even grounds his own hopes of finding mercy at the tribunal of the great Judge, on the opposition which he makes to those of your sentiments.‡ See, Sir, how unwisely you act in undertaking the defence of this arch-reformer, since in extolling his religion you anathematise your own.

More, before it was softened by his later editors, he addresses the king in the following scandalous terms: "*Damnabilis putredo et vermis jus mihi erit pro meo rege majestatem Anglicam luto et stercore conspergere, et coronam illam blasphemam in Christum pedibus conculcare.*" See Collier, *Ecc. Hist.* vol. ii, rec. iii. The most extraordinary circumstance, however, is, that Luther, in giving an account of his book, reproaches himself with having used too great mildness in it towards the king, saying that he did so at the request of his friends, in hopes that his sweetness would gain Henry. *Ad. Maledic. Reg. Ang.* tom. ii.

* On one occasion Luther says, "the devil seems to have mocked mankind in proposing to them a heresy so ridiculous and contrary to scripture as is that of the Zuinglians (who deny the real presence). *Op. Luth. Defens. Verb. Con.*

† Pp. 99, 100.

‡ "*Hereticos serio censemus et alienos ab ecclesia Dei esse omnes Zuinglianos et omnes sacramentarios qui negant corpus*

You excuse me from the task of reviewing the characters of the other leading reformers abroad, such as Zuinglius,* Carlostadius,† Oecolampadius,‡ Ochin,§

et sanguinem Christi ore carnali sumi in venerabili sacramento." Contr 32 Art. Lovan. Theol. tom. ii, vol. 454. "Sacramentarii heretici, blasphemii, infideles, ethnici, larvati Diaboli," &c. Déf. Verb. Cæn. contra Phanatic. Sacram. passim. tom. vii, fol. 379. Alterutram partem (aut Sacramentarii aut Lutherus) a Diabolo exagitari contra Deum necesse est; tertium nullum esse protest." Ibid. fol. 384. "Age ergo quando adeo sunt impudentes et omnes contemptui et ludibrio habent, ideo ego Lutheranam adjiciam cohortationem: maledicta sit in omnem æternitatem illa charitas et concordia (cum sacramentariis) eo quod talis concordia ecclesiam dilacerat et more diabolico irridet." Ibid. "Hoc testimonium, hancque gloriam ad tribunal Jesu Christi allaturus quod sacramentorum hostes Carlostadium, Zuinglium, Oecolampadium, Stenckfeldium, eorumque discipulos toto pectore damnarit atque vitarit." Brerely's Apology, and Woodhead's Spirit of Luther ex Serm. German. Lutheri.

* Luther declared that he despaired of the salvation of Zuinglius, because not satisfied with opposing the sacrament, he admitted the founders of idolatry and the abettors of suicide, such as Numa, Cato, &c. equally to the kingdom of heaven with the apostles and martyrs. Zuinglius at length died sword in hand fighting for the reformation which he preached.

† Carlostadius was Luther's first disciple of any considerable note, being archdeacon of Wittemberg: but he having ventured to alter the mass, in Luther's absence, in the year 1521, and to deny the real presence, the latter declared war against him and his followers, and condemned them in the terms we have seen above, note (3). Melancthon, another chief disciple of Luther, calls him a brutal, ignorant man, void of piety and humanity, one more a Jew than a Christian.

‡ Oecolampadius was a Brigittine friar, who quitting his monastery married a young wife, and thereby occasioned Erasmus, who had been his friend, to say, that the grand tragedy of the reformation in most instances had the catastrophe of a comedy, inasmuch as it generally ended in a marriage. Having met with a sudden death, as was afterwards the case with Luther himself, the latter published that he was strangled by the devil.—See De Miss. Priv.

§ Ochin was an apostate Capuchin friar, who fled from his order to Geneva, for the purpose of getting a wife. He afterwards wrote in favour of polygamy, and became a professed Socinian. He is accused of having formed a conspiracy at

Calvin,* and Beza,† by not introducing them into your panegyric; otherwise it would be an easy matter to trace, from their own writings, and the accounts of their professed friends, separate portraits of them, almost as disgusting as that of Luther himself. You now lead me back into England, for the purpose of contemplating “the integrity and virtue” of the chief champions of the same cause there, namely, the five Protestant bishops who suffered death in Mary’s odious

Vincenza in 1546, with Trevisan, Rugo, Major, Lelius Socinus, &c. for the destruction of Christianity: which conspiracy some persons alledge is developed in the impiety of the present day. See a late work entitled *Le Voile Levé*.

* Calvin was nearly as intemperate in his language as Luther himself, calling his adversaries, at every turn, whether Protestants or Catholics, dogs, swine, asses, fools, madmen, rogues, &c. and was much more violent and cruel in his disposition; of which, amongst others, his burning Servetus is a memorable instance. To say nothing of Bolsec’s account of his life and death, who having been an object of Calvin’s persecution, may be suspected of prejudice against him), Conradus Schlussemburg, a learned Lutheran, draws an equally frightful picture of them. [He maintained with still more pertinaciousness and success, than his rival Luther had done, the two worst of his tenets as they affect religion and the state, namely, that God necessitates the sins and the reprobation of the wicked, and that when princes neglect to reform religion (that is, to establish Calvinism) it is lawful for their subjects to take up arms against them.

† Beza was a true disciple of Calvin. [He actively promoted the different rebellions of his fellow sectaries in France against their lawful sovereign, and even the assassination of the great duke of Guise, the chief support of the Catholics.] He has left monuments of his intolerance in his *Tractatus de Hæreticis puniendis*, and of his dissolute manners in his epigrams, printed at Paris in 1548. One of these contains the following lines:

Abest Candida, Beza quid moraris?
 Andebertus abest, quid hic moraris?
 Sed utrum, rogo, præferam duorum?
 Amplector quoque sic hunc et illam, &c.

[N. B. Maimbourg, Hist. Calv. Spondanus, &c. relate that this Candida of Beza was the wife of a tailor of Paris, by name Madame Claude, with whom this licentious divine, when under prosecution at the latter city, fled to Geneva.]

persecution. I join with you, Sir, in commiserating their sufferings, and I do not envy them any fair praise which they are entitled to. Nevertheless, I think, that, either from pity or partiality, their faults have been concealed and their real characters disguised to an astonishing degree, by yourself and most modern writers. The question now is, whether, having been challenged on this subject, I am at liberty to speak out upon it, or am bound to flatter the prevailing prejudice at the expence of historical truth? I think the reader will wish to see my portraits of these celebrated characters, as he has seen your's. If your pencil shews more beauty, mine shall exhibit more reality,

The first of these prelates whom you mention, is John Hooper, a Cistercian monk, who abandoning his religious order and state of continency, to both of which he was bound by solemn vows, married a Flan-drican woman.* These steps, you, Sir, may be inclined to excuse, on account of the impossibility you state "of counteracting the propensities of nature;"† but I believe very many Christians of all communions will view them in the same light, that I do, namely, as sacrilegious perjuries. You admit, that "Hooper had a certain superstitious narrowness of mind about him, which gave to ceremonies and vestments a degree of importance which they did not deserve."‡ The truth is, he was a thorough-paced Zuinglian,§ having been trained in that discipline by his master, Bullinger, in Switzerland,** and he is justly accused of being the founder of that puritanical sect in England, which caused such confusion, tumults, and blood-shed here, during the space of more than a century.†† You may possibly excuse his objections to the vestments and ceremonial in question, on the score of a mistaken

* Wood's Athen. Oxen.

† P. 42.

‡ P. 78.

§ Heylin, Hist. Ref. p. 92.

** "Cranmer maligned him for his worse than Calvinistical principles." Wood's Athen.

†† Fox, Acts and Monum.

conscience ; but how then will you reconcile his compliance in these points, by consenting to wear the vestments,* after having engaged the young king to write to Cranmer that they "were offensive to his conscience?"† and his taking the oath of supremacy, after having made his patron, Dudley, write to the same prelate, that it "was burthensome to his conscience."‡ when he found that he could not get promotion otherwise? Again, how will you excuse his obtaining and holding the bishopric of Worcester, in addition to his former bishopric of Gloucester, after having inveighed so strongly as he did, in his sermons, against pluralities?§ In a word, the best friends of the church accuse Hooper of being the principal instrument in those sacrilegious robberies of it, which they represent as so very disgraceful to the Reformation.** I cannot close this article without, expressing my surprise at the passage, which I have quoted from you, concerning the alleged "superstition of Hooper, in giving to ceremonies and vestments an importance which they did not deserve." Is not this censure, Sir, a two-edged sword, which wounds the church of England as deeply as it does the Puritans? For most certainly one party did not attach more importance to the abolition of these things, than the other did to the perservation of them. If there were any superstition in this controversy, it was evidently on the side of the church. But I am convinced that this was not the case, but rather that there was a great deal of fanaticism on the side of the Puritans. I shall have other occasions, Sir, of defending the established church against your attacks upon her.

Latimer, you say, "possessed perfect simplicity and honesty, without perhaps much prudence or judgment

* Heylin. p. 92.

† Fox, Acts and Mon. p. 1504, 4th edit.

‡ Fox, Acts and Mon. p. 1504, 4th edit.

§ Sander. De Schism.

** Heylen, Edw. VI, p. 94. Collier.

to direct them.* His want of prudence and judgment, I think, is very manifest in the sermon I have quoted above, and might be still more clearly displayed by citations from some of his other sermons particularly from that on the pack of cards, preached at Cambridge.† However, I have nothing to do with his simplicity, but have only to inquire how far he is entitled to that high character for "integrity and virtue," which you, and most modern writers, bestow upon him. Admitting him to have been conscientiously persuaded of the truth of the Reformation, was it consistent with Christian integrity and virtue to dissemble his religion for twenty years together, and repeatedly to abjure it, as he certainly did as often as he found himself threatened with any serious danger by adhering to it?‡ Was it consistent with integrity and virtue to accept of one of the highest offices, the bishopric of Worcester, in a church which he so much reprobated, and even to take an oath of opposing, to the utmost of his power, all persons who dissented

* p. 78.

† Fox, p. 1731.

‡ "He was called up to the cardinal (Wolsey) for heresie, where he was content to subscribe and grannte unto such articles as they propounded unto him." Fox, Acts, p. 1736. This happened in the year 1529. In 1531 he was cited before the archbishop of Canterbury, Wareham, on fresh charges of heresy, and Fox is unwillingly obliged to own that he was forced to sign an abdication of them, which he sets down p. 1738.—The third time he was called upon, with certain others, to give an account of his opinions, by Henry himself, on which occasion he escaped by an absolute submission of himself to his supreme head in spiritual matters. His fourth and last recantation was when he was deprived of his bishopric, and committed prisoner to the Tower, where he lay till the end of Henry's reign, on suspicion of heresy, and for violating the fast and abstinence of Good Friday. Fox glosses over this matter; but Parsons shews the absurdity of believing that the tyrant Henry, who at this very time forced Shaxton bishop of Salisbury, to recant his Lutheran opinions and to carry a faggot at the burning of four other Protestants in 1546, would have been content with less from Shaxton's fellow prisoner, Latimer, than a solemn abjuration of his doctrines. See Exam. of Fox, p.

from, or were disobedient to it? * But supposing you inclined to overlook all this, what will you say to the share he took in the religious persecutions both of Henry's and of Edward's reign? What excuse will you make for him, when you find him sending Catholics and Protestants to the stake for the very opinion which he himself holds? † It is not less difficult to justify his moral conduct in making himself the political tool of the unnatural Seymour, in bringing his brother, lord Thomas, to the scaffold, on the most frivolous charges, in short for a mere female broil? ‡—I fear it will be difficult to reconcile all this either with the virtue of a martyr, or the integrity of an ordinary Christian.

Ridley, you tell us, was "active in the conduct of ecclesiastical affairs." I think, Sir, you will grant, that he shewed rather too much activity in these affairs. to be consistent with integrity, after I shall have reminded, you that, when bishop of Rochester in Henry's days, and when bishop of London in those of Edward, he was as forward in persecuting Protestants and Anabaptists, as Cranmer, Latimer, and the rest of the prelates were; § that he purchased the latter see by

* See the consecration oath in the Pontifical.

† It appears, from Collier and Fox, that he was one of the leading bishops who sat upon the trial of the famous Protestant martyr, John Lambert, and that he and Cranmer had previously used every means to make him confess the doctrine of the real presence. [A lame excuse has been set up for him, namely, that he had not yet formed his belief in 1538, when he joined in persecuting Lambert; but we have seen that he himself was under persecution for heresy, by which was understood the *Reformation*, nine years before, viz. in 1529. Collier, p. 151. Burnet, &c.] See also Latimer's name to the sentence against Joan of Kent, who was burnt for heresy, in 1549. Burnet, Hist. of Ref. part ii, book i, rec. 35.

‡ Heylin, Hist. Ref. Edw. VI, p. 72. Stow, ann. 1549,—and other writers, speak of an invective which Latimer preached against the admiral a few days after his execution; but Saunders who was present on the occasion, says that Latimer paved the way for his condemnation by a previous sermon at Oxford, charging the admiral with treason, &c.

* See his signature to a sentence against Van Parre, similar to that quoted above against Joan of Kent. Burnet, ut supra.

alienating from it the most valuable of its manors;* and that he was one of the most zealous and forward of Dudley's partisans in endeavouring to interrupt the regular succession of the throne, and in raising that rebellion which was attended with the loss of so much blood.†

But as the chief agent of the reformation in this country was confessedly archbishop Cranmer, so you, with most modern writers, spare no pains in embellishing his picture with every beauty that you can bestow upon it. For my part, I will draw no character at all, but barely relate facts, as I find them recorded by the most celebrated Protestant writers, and then leave you, and every other reader who wishes to be guided by truth and not by prejudice, to form an impartial opinion of this celebrated prelate. The first remarkable circumstance we meet with in the life of Cranmer,

* Within nine days after his promotion to the see of London, he alienated four of its best manors, and amongst others Stepney and Hackney, to the king, in order to "gratify some of the courtiers." Strype, *Mem. Ecc.* vol. iii, p. 234. The same author says of Poynt the first Protestant bishop of Winchester, that "he passed away *all the temporalities* of his see *conditionally to his preferment to it*," in return for which he was content to receive divers rectories. *Ibid.* p. 272.

† Stow says: "Dr. Ridley vehemently persuaded the people in the title of the lady Jane, and inveighed earnestly against the title of the lady Mary." *Ann.* 1553.—Dr. S is unjust to the memory of Robert Farrer, one of the five Protestant bishops who were burnt in Mary's reign, in not mentioning him amongst them. The truth is, though he was much persecuted by other Protestants, yet the charges against him are much less serious than those against his four brethren. The following short account of him is extracted from the Oxford historian: "Farrer was one of Cranmer's chaplains, and being in great favour with the duke of Somerset, was by him appointed bishop of St. David's. But upon the fall of the said duke, who was an upholder of him and his unworthy doings, 56 articles were drawn up against him by some of his neighbours, accusing him as an abuser of his authority, a maintainer of superstition, covetous, negligent, foolish, &c. all which he being unable to answer, was committed to close custody in London, during the remainder of Edward's reign." For the articles *themselves*, and Farrer's answers, see *Acts and Mon.*

is his privately marrying a woman of low condition whilst he was fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge,* contrary to the engagements of his admisison.— He afterwards, when a priest, married a second wife in Germany, by a much more flagrant violation of his vow of celibacy.† and having brought her privately into England,‡ he continued to live with her,§ in equal opposition to the laws of the church, and of the land.** Being a Lutheran in principle as far back as the year 1529 †† he afterwards accepted the office of pope's penitentiary, and when named to the archbishopric of Canterbury, he was content to receive different bulls from the Pontiff, to take upon himself the character of his legate in England. and even to make a solemn oath of obedience to him,* with an obligation of opposing all heretics and schismatics, that is to say, according to the

* Acts and Mon.

† Besides the violation of his vow of continency, he, in this case, fell into the irregularity attached to bigamy. [Query, is not that point of the Canon law in full force here in England at the present time ?]

‡ He is said to have brought his wife to England in a large chest, which being landed at Gravesend, and set on the wrong end, the poor inclosed woman was obliged to cry out, in order to save her neck from being broken. For the truth of this story, Parsons refers to Cranmer's daughter-in-law, then living. It is also allowed by Mason, in his defence of English Consecrations, &c.

§ This he admitted upon his trial, (Fox, p. 1877,); though, when questioned by Henry, whether *his bed-chamber would stand the test of the Six Articles*, he said that he had sent his wife home to Germany. Collier, vol. ii, p. 200.

** Particulrrly the law of the Six Articles, 31 Hen. VIII, cap. 14. This act made it felony for any clergyman to cohabit with a wife. (N. B. Cranmer formerly admitted and subscribed to the Six Articles, and forced his clergy to do the same, every one of which was in direct opposition to his own belief.

†† Fox.

* It is true he made an act of Protestation in opposition to the tenor of his consecration oath ; but this reservation, so far from diminishing, rather augmented his guilt. Collier, vol. ii, rec. 22.

received sense of the words, all persons of his own religious persuasion.* In like manner he must have said mass, which, in his opinion, was an idolatrous worship, both at his consecration, and frequently at other times, during the fourteen years that he governed the church of England under Henry. He must also necessarily, from time to time, have ordained other priests to perform the same worship, and imposed upon them the obligation of that continency which he himself did not observe. In a word, we see his subscription still affixed to a great variety of doctrinal articles and injunctions, issued during that reign, which we know to have been in direct opposition to his real sentiments.†

Every one knows, that Cranmer owed his rise in the church to the part which he took in Henry's divorce from queen Catherine of Arragon. I shall here only take notice of the concluding scenes in that transaction. This prince then, being tired out with the opposition of Rome, and impatient to be united with his beloved Ann Boleyn, privately marries her, Nov. 14, 1532, and Cranmer himself is one of the witnesses of the contract.‡ On the eleventh of the following March this same prelate writes a letter to Henry, from "pure motives of conscience" as he declares,§ but from a pre-concerted scheme as the facts prove, representing the necessity there was of terminating the long depending cause between him and his queen, and demanding of him the necessary ecclesiastical jurisdiction to decide it.** This being granted, he on the 20th. of May pronounces a sentence of divorce between the royal pair, and authorises Henry to take another wife,†† six months after he

* Pontifical Rom.

† See the two books, *The Institution of a Christian Man*, and *The Erudition of a Christian Man*, subscribed by him, with many other records, in Burnet and Collier.

‡ Heylin, Hist. Eliz. p. 89.

§ Collier, vol. ii, rec. 24.

** Collier, vol. ii, rec. 24.

†† Burnet, Collect. b. ii, n. 47.

himself had officiated as witness to his marriage with Ann Boleyn, and only four months before the latter was delivered of an infant, who was afterwards queen Elizabeth.* What a scandalous collusion in so important a matter of conscience and public example ! Can you yourself avoid blushing at it ? In less than three years however the tyrant grows weary of the consort whom he had moved heaven and earth to gain, and becomes enamoured of a new beauty.—Nevertheless, appearances must be saved ; and therefore Cranmer presents himself as the ready instrument in smoothing the way to the gratification of the tyrant's passions. After a faint effort to save Ann, to whose family he had such infinite obligations, in a cold adulatory letter to the king, which he wrote on the occasion† he lent all his aid to ruin and oppress her, permitting if not persuading her, (standing as she then did upon the verge of eternity) to confess what he knew to be false ;‡ and pronouncing a sentence of divorce, which contained, that she never had been *validly married to Henry*, at the very time when she was lying under sentence of death for violating his bed by adultery !§ Henry's fourth match was with Ann of Cleves, which was highly satisfactory to Cromwell and Cranmer, on account of her being of the reformed persuasion.—On this occasion the archbishop was commissioned to examine into the nature of an alleged former engagement, between that lady and the duke of Lorrain's son.

* The royal pair were married by Dr. Rowland Lee, in the presence of Cranmer, the duke of Norfolk, &c. Nov. 14, 1532. Heylin, Hist. Eliz. p. 89. Stow fixes the marriage two months later, viz. Jan. 25, 1533. Elizabeth was born Sept. 7, 1533.

† See the letter in Burnet's Hist. Ref. b, iii. p. 200.

‡ See Burnet, p. 203, who first shews that there was evidence before the two archbishops that Ann Boleyn was under no previous contract when she married Henry ; and secondly, that Cranmer did actually divorce her on "an extorted confession," as he himself calls it.

§ "The two sentences, the one of attainder for adultery, the other of a divorce because of a pre-contract, did so contradict one another, that one if not both must be unjust."—Burnet.

Finding however that it had only passed between the parents of the parties, when they themselves were infants, and that when they were of a proper age, they had broken it off by mutual consent,* he of course pronounced that there was no lawful impediment to the king's marriage with her; which was accordingly celebrated Jan. 6, 1540. Henry however, in less than half a year, becoming completely disgusted with his foreign bride, Cranmer was found just as ready to dissolve the matrimonial knot, both in convocation and in parliament, as he had been before to tie it. He now finds that impediment to be valid which he had a little before pronounced null; and accordingly issues a sentence justifying his libertine master in proceeding to fresh adulteries. Here the primate's ablest friends are forced to abandon him, and to allow that in this doctrinal decision, he and his brethren of the convocation were too much governed by the sovereign's will.†

Upon the death of the king, Cranmer appeared just as obsequious to the protector Seymour's ambition, as he had been to Henry's lust. To gratify this he consented to set aside in a great measure the last will of his old master, of which he was the first named executor.‡ Having raised his ecclesiastical no less than civil idol to undue power, he was ready to pay homage to him with all the essential authority of the church, taking out a new commission for his archbishopric, under the unheard of pretext that his former power had expired with the deceased king, and professing to be a prelate no longer than the child of Edward, or rather Seymour himself, should acknowledge him to be so. He had before surrendered more than sixteen manors of the archiepiscopal see to Henry; ** and now, to serve

* Burnet, part i, b. iii, p. 273.

† Collier, Ecc. Hist. vol. ii, p. 178.

‡ "Of which last will how little was performed, and how much less would have been performed if some great persons, (his executors) might have had their will, we shall hereafter shew." Heylin, Edw. p. 28.

§ Collier, vol. ii, p. 218. Burnet.

** Collier, vol. ii, rec. 67.

his own purposes, he alienated above half of its remaining property to the favourites of the day.*

Cranmer concurred no less in the other injustices and disorders of this infant reign, than he did in those stated above. He gratified Somerset by subscribing to the death-warrant of his brother, lord Thomas Seymour, the admiral; though he had such a fair plea, as the canons of the church afforded him, for keeping his hands clean from that political sacrifice.† He was afterwards as forward as any of the other courtiers in paying his homage to the rising power of Dudley, earl of Warwick, when he found the interest of the latter growing stronger than that of the duke of Somerset; and he carried his ingratitude to his deceased benefactor Henry, and his infidelity in the discharge of that Prince's last will, to such a length, as to concur in excluding his two daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, from their lawful inheritance and right to the crown, in order to place it on the head of Dudley's daughter-in-law, the lady Jane ‡ If Elizabeth, Sir, had succeeded to the throne immediately after Edward, she would no more have spared Cranmer and Ridley, than Mary did.

In conclusion, if Cranmer was burnt to death for heresy, instead of being beheaded for rebellion, reflect, Sir, how many persons he himself, whilst he had power in his hands, had condemned to this punishment, on the self-same accusation. How disingenuously have you disguised and misrepresented this matter, where you say, "when the respectable Cranmer is committed to the flames....I wish to forget that he had procured the execution of an Anabaptist,"§ For is it not true, that he was instrumental in the execution of many other

* "Cranmer was forced to part with the better half of the possessions of his see. Ridley, soon after his entry into London, was forced to give away four of the best manors of his see in one day." Ant. Harmer. alias Hen. Wharton. apud Collier.

† See Burnet, part ii, b. i, p. 100.

‡ Ibid, p. 224, b. ii, p. 235.

§ P. 64.

persons, besides Joan Knell, for religious opinions, and that some of them held the very tenets for which he himself afterwards suffered? Though this part of his conduct has been kept out of sight as much as possible, yet we have certain proofs of his having been one of the chief instruments, under Henry VIII, in bringing to the stake, John Lambert, Ann Askew, John Frith, and Wm. Allen,* for denying the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, besides a great number of Anabaptists, &c. for their respective opinions. In the reign of Edward VI, besides other most severe persecutions which he carried on against Gospellers, Anabaptists, and other sectaries, amongst whom two at least were Sacramentarians, he was the active promoter and the immediate cause of the burning of Joan Knell,† and George Paris or Van Parr,‡ for certain singular opinions. Amongst those who escaped with their lives, a great part of them were forced to recant,

* Fox, who disguises the share which Cranmer had in these executions, yet is forced to make the following awkward apology for him; "He purged away (by his death) his offences in standing against Lambert and Allen, or if there were others with whose burning and blood his hands were polluted." [Fuller says: "It cannot be denied that he had a hand in the execution of Lambert, Frith, and other godly martyrs," adding that he will "leave him to sink or swim by himself where he is guilty." Ch. Hist. b. v. sec. 2. He elsewhere accuses Cranmer "of arguing against the aforesaid Lambert, contrary to his own private judgment:" and remarks that "as the latter was burnt for denying the corporal presence, so Cranmer himself was afterwards condemned and died at Oxford for maintaining the same opinion." Book v. sec. 6.]

† "When he (Cranmer) was on the point of passing sentence upon her...she reproached him for passing the like sentence on another woman, Ann Askew, for denying the carnal presence of Christ in the sacrament; telling him that he had condemned the said Ann Askew, not long before for a piece of bread, and was then ready to condemn her for a piece of flesh." Heylin, Edw. VI, p. 89.—As three other Protestants, Lassels, Otterden, and Adams, were burnt with Askew for the self-same cause, there is every appearance that Cranmer was as instrumental in their punishment as he was in that of Askew.

‡ See the process of their condemnation, in Burnet's *Collect. of Rec. part ii, b. i, n. 35.*

through the fear of torments, and to carry lighted tapers and faggots, in testimony of their having merited burning.* To say something now more particular of that execution which you admit to have been procured by Cranmer; when it is considered, with all its attendant circumstances, I think you must confess, that a more cruel and wanton act of persecution is not to be found upon record. The subject of it was a woman, Joan Knell or Butcher, of Kent. The doctrine for which she suffered was of an abstract nature, not calculated to gain proselytes or to occasion any public disturbances. She was barely accused of maintaining, that "Christ passed through the blessed virgin's body as water through a conduit, without participating of that body through which he passed."† For no other cause than persisting in this opinion, she was "convented, in the church of St. Paul, before archbishop

‡ In 1538 I find a special commission granted to Cranmer, with two other bishops and six other persons, to try *summariè et de plano*, even though they had not been denounced or detected, all anabaptists, &c. and to deliver them over to the secular arm. Collier, vol. ii, sec. 46.—Within a month from the date of this commission, viz. Nov. 24, I find two Anabaptists burnt, and four bearing faggots, Stow. About a year after this, by virtue of a special commission, Cranmer with certain other bishops tried Alexander Seaton for Protestant opinions, and condemned him to bear a faggot and recant at St. Paul's-Cross, which he did accordingly. Collier, vol. ii, p. 184.—The same year three other Anabaptists were burnt, by virtue of the former commission. Stow.—In Edward's reign, certain "chiefs (of the Gospellers and Anabaptists) were converted, April 12, 1549, before the archbishop (Cranmer), the bishop of Westminster, and Drs. Cox, May, Cole, and Smith. Being convicted, some of them were dismissed only with an admonition, some sentenced to a recantation, and others condemned to bear their faggots at St. Paul's." Heylin, p. 73.—About the same time John Champneys of Stratford was converted before Cranmer, Latimer, and two other doctors, at which time he was forced to recant upon oath certain "heresies and damnable opinions" concerning regeneration, &c. as also to carry a faggot. In like manner, John Ashton, priest, being converted before Cranmer, abjured his heresies, &c. and took an oath to submit to whatever penance was enjoined. Ex regist. Cranm. Collier, part ii, b. i, rec. 35.

* Heylin, Edw. VI, p. 88. Burnet, part ii, b. i, rec. 35.

Cranmer and his assistants, convicted, and delivered over to the secular arm." We have the sentence that he pronounced on the occasion, which is rigorous beyond the usual terms ;* and we have a certificate of it, addressed to the king, in which, instead of petitioning for mercy, in the usual style of such instruments, the convict heretic is expressly recommended " to receive due punishment."† Nor is this all, for the royal youth being unwilling to sign the warrant for her execution, Cranmer employs all his theological arguments to induce him to comply ; amongst other things telling him, that " princes being God's deputies, ought to punish impieties against God."‡ In the end, Edward sets his hand to the warrant, but with tears in his eyes, telling Cranmer, that " if he did wrong, he (the said Cranmer) should answer for it to God."§ At length, by a change in circumstances, the archbishop himself being condemned as a heretic to suffer that cruel death, to which he had condemned so many others on the same account, he was far from imitating the firmness of the greater part of them. It is not however with Cranmer's fear of death that I here find fault, but with your account of the circumstances that attended it — Is it then true, that this recantation was the effect of " a momentary weakness," as you describe it to have been ?** Was it a single act, and that of a short conti-

* " Idcirco nos Thomas archiep. &c. te Johannam Bocher alias de Kent....tanquam pertinacem hæreticam, judicia sive curiæ sæculari *ad omnem juris affectum, qui exinde sequi debeat aut poterit* relinquimus," &c. See the sentence, *ibid.* p. 167.

† " Brachio vestro sæculari dictam hæreticam relinquimus *condigna animadversione plectendam.*" See the certificate, *ibid.* p. 168.

‡ Burnet, part ii, b. i, p. 111.

§ Burnet, part ii, b. i, p. 112.

** P. 79. Dr. S. seems in this, as in many other passages, to have been misled by that treacherous guide, Hume, whose words are these : " He allowed in an unguarded hour, the sentiments of nature to prevail over his resolution." *Hist of Tudors.* [In the notes to his second edition, p. 181, my adversary confesses, with a candour that does him credit, his error in describing Cranmer's recantation as a momentary weakness. *Si sic omnia.*]

nuance? No, Sir, he is proved to have deliberately subscribed six different forms of recantation, at so many different periods, each one of which was more ample and express than the preceeding one; and he remained during the whole five or six last weeks of his life, and until the very hour of his death, either a sincere Catholic or an egregious hypocrite.* At length finding that, notwithstanding so many retractations, he was upon the point of being executed, he revoked them all, and shewed a resolution at his death, which he had exhibited in no one occurrence of his life.

Methinks, Sir, you will hardly forgive me this statement of facts, which bears so hard on characters that you have celebrated as models "of virtue and integrity." But after all, Sir, reflect, that as I have not invented these facts, or foisted them into the records to which I have referred to their existence, so neither is it in your power to suppress them. And why indeed should you wish to suppress them? You have seen that I have acknowledged and reprobated the crimes of a Sergius, a John X, an Alexander VI, and of every other bad Pope, which I have found recorded in genuine history. Why then should you not be equally liberal in abandoning as indefensible the characters of a Luther and a Cranmer? I grant indeed, that the truth or falsehood of a religious system is not so much connected with the behaviour of its later members or superiors, as it is with that of its original preachers and founders. For though we find,

* The two first of these retractions are without date. The third appears to have been signed Feb. 14. The fourth is dated Feb. 16: and the last is dated March 18. See Strype's Mem. Ecc. vol. iii, p. 234. Cranmer retracted his recantations and was executed Mach 21.

Dr. S. is guilty of the greatest inconsistency, as well as uncharitableness, where he ascribes the conduct of Cranmer's enemies in making him recant, to a "refinement of cruelty, in order that infamy might be added to his death." Did then Mary's divines think it infamous to retract heretical opinions? No: they thought it honourable in this world, and advantageous for the next, which latter consideration was the real motive of their persuasions.

at all times, many of God's ministers, who go on *in ordinary succession* to be bad men, yet we never find any but persons of the most eminent piety and virtue, charged by him with any *extraordinary commission* of making known his will to men, such as were Noah, Abraham, Moses, Samuel, the several prophets, John the Baptist and the Apostles. Still, however, Sir, the cause of truth is inseparably connected with that of religion; and to tell the plain truth ought to be our first concern, both as writers and as Christians. Before I conclude, I cannot refrain from making one more reflection of the same tendency with the former. I see amongst the nobility and gentry of our communion, the posterity of several men who were the agents and confederates of Henry VIII, Somerset, and Cranmer, in the measures which I find fault with; on the other hand, I behold amongst the nobility and even the clergy of your's, the descendants of those who were instrumental in the burnings of Mary's reign. Who knows but your progenitor, between two and three hundred years ago, was a retainer of the latter class, and mine of the former? Thus much I can confidently assert, that if your boasted martyrs, Hooper and Rogers, were now amongst us and saw you officiating in your proper habit at the cathedral altar, they would turn from you as from a superstitious papist;* and if Cranmer and Ridley were alive and sitting in judgment on some of your publications, which I shall have occasion to examine, they would infallibly sentence you to the same cruel fate which they themselves suffered.†

I have the honour, &c.

[* It has been signified that the latter, when led to execution, threatened his fellow Protestants with everlasting fire if they did not lay aside surplices, and other things belonging to the service of the church of England.]

[† See the whole of Cranmer's speech to Edward VI. concerning the execution of Joan Knell, referred to above in Burnet's History of the Reformation, p. ii, b. i.]

POSTSCRIPT TO LETTER V.

[I have to regret that Dr. S. has not thought my vindication of the middle ages from the aspersions which he with most modern writers has thrown upon them, "worthy of notice," as he has thereby deprived me of the opportunity of doing more ample justice to them than I have yet done, particularly in what regards their principles of religion and morality. If the ancient church had ceased to regard the theological and moral virtues as necessary for salvation, and had substituted forms and ceremonies in their place; if there had been wanting in any age a succession of holy personages to support these by their doctrine and to illustrate them by their example; if the Reformation, as it is called, were set on foot and embraced by persons the most eminent for their piety and virtue, when it began, and were followed by a general improvement in the religious and moral conduct of the people, where it prevailed, the occasion most certainly called upon my adversary in his second edition, to prove these points from the records of councils and authentic history. His neglecting then to support his assertions can be ascribed to no other cause but a conviction of their being indefensible. It was still more incumbent on him to repel those formal charges which I have brought against characters for which he professes so much respect, had this been feasible, because his professed object in writing his *Reflections* was to vindicate them from imputations of the same nature, which are supposed to be contained in my *History of Winchester*. It is true he offers a few words in favour of two of these characters, Luther and Cranmer, but they are so little to the purpose, that they only serve to place the evidence against the accused in a more striking light

With respect to Luther, it appears that my antagonist is more anxious concerning his reputation for good manners, than concerning his moral character in points of infinitely greater importance. So far is

certain, that Dr. S. has not said a word to justify Luther's motives, doctrine, or conduct from the weighty charges which I have brought against them in the foregoing letter. He has even left this patriarch under the imputation, with which he charges himself, of being the instrument of the devil in his grand undertaking. The only article in my accusation to which any answer is made, is that concerning Luther's foul language: "This," says Dr. S. "did not arise only from the violence of his temper, but also from the rude manners of the age and country in which he lived." He adds, "the language which passed between Erasmus and the monks his opponents, would disgust readers at the present time." 2d Ed. p. 176. Now such kind of an apology for Luther, I maintain, is highly injurious to the memory of his cotemporaries, and particularly of Erasmus. It is true we do not find in the luminous and nervous style of this great genius the mincing phrases of a "waiting gentlewoman," or master of ceremonies. Had it been made up of such filmy gossamer materials as these, it never would have descended to our times. Still Erasmus knew what language was becoming a Christian divine and a classical scholar; and it is a fact that he bewailed his "misfortune in being obliged to contend with a wild boar," as he called Luther, and sarcastically expressed his disappointment at finding that "marriage had not tamed him."* Some of Luther's own disciples, particularly Melancthon, are almost as loud in their complaints of his violencies, as Erasmus himself was. But what is most to the purpose, it appears that the reformer himself sometimes acknow-

* Erasm. Epist.—In one of these, addressed to Luther himself, he says: "Cujus ingenii sis jam orbis novit: stylum vero sic temperasti ut hactenus in neminem scripseris rabiosius, &c. Quid faciunt ad argumentum tot scurrilia convitia, tot criminosa mendacia me ἀθύρῃς esse, me Epicureum et quid non? Plus quam tertiam voluminis partem his occupare libuit dum tuo morem geris animo.... Optarem tibi meliorem mentem nisi tibi tua tam valde placeret. Mihi optabis quod voles modo ne tuam mentem, nisi tibi dominus istam mutaverit."

ledged the justice of the charge against him,* though at other times he scandalously attempted to exculpate himself by the example of Christ, in his reproaches to the Pharisees.

I cannot pass over the present opportunity of supplying an omission of some consequence in my answer to Dr. S. This gentleman then has commended Luther in the highest terms for "translating the whole bible into German," p. 76, 1st. ed. I grant the scriptural labours of Luther were very, great, but I am of opinion that all works of this nature are to be estimated by their quality, not their quantity. It is certain that the great Lutheran divines, Andreas, Osinder, Keckerman, and others, pointedly condemn the version in question;† whilst the famous Zuinglius, addressing Luther himself concerning his scriptural works, uses the following energetical language: Thou doest corrupt the word of God, Luther. Thou art seen to be a manifest and common perverter of the scriptures."‡ In proof of this charge we may remark that this reformer has stigmatized several acknowledged canonical books by wholesale, such as the book of Esther, which he says, "though it be received by the Jews, it nevertheless deserves to be put out of the canon."§ Such also is the book of ecclesiastes, which he alledges, is not complete, the writer of it wanting boots and spurs, and riding on a long reed as he himself used to do in his monastery."** Such in particular, is St. James's Epistle, which he often blasphemes because it is so express and energetical on the subject of good works.†† To give an idea of Luther's fidelity

* "Video ab omnibus in me peti modestiam. Omnes in me damnant mordacitatem." Luth. Loc. Commun.

† Brerely's Protestant Apology for the Roman Church, p. i, sec. 10, § 2, p. xi, sec. 10, § 2.

‡ Zuing. Op. Tom. ii. Lib. de Sacr. ad Luth.

§ Luth. de Serv. Arb.

** Luth. Serm. Conviv.

†† "Si uspiam deliratum est, viz. de extrema unctione et etiam si esset epistola Jacobi, dicerem non licere apostolum sacramentum instituere." De Capt. Babyl tom. ii. N. B. In

in translating, it will be sufficient to refer to that verse in Romans, c. iii, v. 28. *We conclude that a man is justified by faith, without the deeds of the law.* Here Luther foists in the word *alone*, after *faith*, to countenance his own error on this point. Being reproached with the corruption, he impudently defends it, and even expresses his regret in terms not to be paralleled for their arrogance and indecency, that he had not vitiated the text still more flagrantly.*

The patriarch Cranmer is not better defended than the patriarch Luther. We have just now seen his advocate forced to give up one plea which he had urged in his favour; namely, that he barely subscribed a single act of retraction, and this through the weakness of a moment. As to the objections in other respects which I have brought against him, Dr. S. is quite silent, except on the head of persecution. By way of extenuating the conduct of his hero in this point, my opponent has inserted the following note in his second edition. "Mr. Milner asserts and perhaps with truth, that Cranmer was, if not the immediate agent, yet instrumental in the death of several other persons, (besides Joan Knell;) but however we may condemn him for this, as I do most heartily; it will still be true that, amidst the violent prejudices and cruel principles derived chiefly from the old religion, such men, on either side, as More and Cranmer, who being placed in the most trying circumstances more than compensated infirmities, then common to all, by virtues almost peculiar to themselves, should be regarded by us with indulgence and respect." P, 145.—In the first place,

the original edition of Luther's works, printed at Jena, which have been since altered by Melancthon, &c. he terms this canonical book, dry, chaffy, (*straminosa*) and unworthy the apostolic spirit.

* "*Sic volo, sic jubeo. Sit pro ratione voluntas.* Lutherus ita vult, et ait se doctorem esse super omnes doctores in toto papatu. Propterea debet vox SOLA in meo Novo Testamento manere....etiam si omnes papasini ad insaniam redigantur, tamen eam inde non tollent. Pœnitet me quod non addiderim et illas duas voces OMNIBUS et OMNIUM, viz. *sine omnibus operibus omnium legum.*" See Brerely, as above.

I wish to learn the meaning of the word *perhaps* at the head of this quotation. Does Dr. S. question the joint authority of Fox, Fuller, Burnet, and Collier, that is to say, of the profest apologists of Cranmer, who set down the names and histories of several other persons whom Cranmer sent to the stake besides the above-mentioned woman? 2dly, In case he is of opinion that the will of Henry was an excuse for the conduct of the archbishop, in condemning the Protestants Lambert, Allen, Frith, &c. to the fire, (as he seems to intimate where he speaks of the *trying circumstances* in which his hero was placed) yet how does this apply to the burning of Knell and Van Parr, under Edward VI? On these occasions there was no king to overawe a merciful prelate; but, on the contrary, there was an unrelenting primate to harden and stimulate to cruelly a feeling weeping prince. Lastly, I wish to know what the *peculiar* virtues of Cranmer were which Dr. S. describes as "compensating for the infirmity," as he calls it of burning men for being of the same religion with himself, and which even causes my opponent to look on those *infirmities* with "indulgence and respect." Was it sincerity in the profession and practice of the religion he believed in? Was it conscientiousness in the observance of his clerical and archiepiscopal vows? Was it zeal in supporting the divine rights of the prelacy? Was it firmness in opposing the excesses of a lustful and irreligious prince? Was it fidelity in the discharge of his exectury trusts? Was it loyalty to his sovereign, Mary? Was it gratitude to the memory and offspring of his benefactors, Henry and Boylen? In vain we here look on every side, I do not say for the heroic virtues of an apostle, but for the ordinary integrity of an honest man. As to lord Chancellor More, to form a just idea of his character, we must imagine one directly the reverse of Cranmer's. In no one circumstance do they agree, except in both being denoted by the name of Thomas; and Dr. S. has no reason whatever for yoking them together, in the manner he does, except that the worth of one may bear up the unworthiness of the other.

In conclusion, whatever may be said for my opponents slurring over all the matter here stated, it is perfectly incomprehensible that he should not at least find those "particulars worthy of his notice," in which I have maintained that if he had lived with the very reformers, for whose memory he professes so much "affection and respect." one part of them would have stripped him of all his property and reduced him to the state of a begging friar, another part of them would have excommunicated him, whilst a third party, or rather the whole of them together, would have sentenced him to the stake. These things I have not said out of any disrespect to Dr. S. but barely in justice to the arguments, which he has forced me to adopt, and to convince him that either he must abandon the defence of Wycliff, Luther, Cranmer, and their associates, as differing from himself in the very essence and groundwork of religion, or else condemn all his own publications to the flames.

LETTER VI.

SIR,

OF all the pagan persecutions which the primitive christians endured, from the reign of Nero down to that of Julian, they were most sensible to the one which was raised against them by the last mentioned emperor, as being maliciously contrived to misrepresent the cause of their sufferings, and as depriving them of their reputation together with their lives — For this artful apostate, who affected nothing so much as the character of humanity and benevolence, at the very time that he was inundating the whole empire with the blood of innocent christians, professed to be exempt from every degree of religious intolerance, and to be guided by no other sentiments, than those of

humanity and zeal for the welfare of his people.*—The English Catholics, Sir, have reason to make the same distinction between the persecution which they suffered from Henry VIII, and that which they endured from his daughter Elizabeth. Those who lost their lives by the former, particularly the two most learned and virtuous men of the whole kingdom, Sir Thomas More and bishop Fisher, are universally regretted, as the victims of undisguised and tyrannical intollerance, whilst the missionary priests, and other Catholics, who suffered under the latter, though their cause was in all respects the same, yet by the misrepresentation of their enemies, both at that period and since, have passed for criminals who merited their fate. The truth is, no portion of our history has been more poisoned and perverted than that of the English Catholics, from the reformation down to the revolution. The immediate actors in the tragical scenes here alluded to were influenced by political and selfish motives, which would not admit of being exposed to the world ; hence they were under the necessity of inventing the most odious calumnies against the subjects of their oppression, in order to justify their own conduct in oppressing them. The consciousness of their injustice against the Catholics, according to the general perversity of human nature,† sharpened their cruelty and produced in their breasts a confirmed hatred of them. Being otherwise persons on whom providence was pleased to bestow splendid talents, and great success in their temporal pursuits, hence their calumnies descend to us with redoubled weight, and their whole con-

* *Furebat adversus nos nefandus imperator, ac ne eos honores qui martyribus haberi solent consequeremur (hos enim Christianis invidebat) primum illius artificium hoc fuit ut qui Christi causa patiebantur, tanquam sotes et facinorosi cruciati afficerentur....Hoc molitur Apostata, ut vim afferet, et afferre non videatur ; ut nos supplicia perferamus, et eo interim honore qui pro Christi nomine patientibus haberi solet, careamus."* S. Greg. Naz. orat. i. in Julian. ex vers. lat.

† "Proprium est humani generis odisse quem læseris." Tacit.

duct is viewed through the most flattering medium.— Thus every circumstance concurs to overwhelm the reputation of Catholics with odium ; and I am by no means surprised that you, Sir, should have adopted the general prejudices against them, though certainly you had no occasion to give scope to such prejudices in your answer to my history ; unless you had disproved some one or more facts, which I had advanced in opposition to them : a task that I do not see you have even attempted to perform.

Notwithstanding all the disadvantages which I have stated, I trust that I shall be able to vindicate the conduct of the Catholic body during the whole period in question, and to wipe off the numerous aspersions which you after other writers, have cast upon it. The great luminary of the world is not extinguished by the dark clouds that frequently interrupt its rays ; It is sure to shine forth again, sooner or later, with fresh lustre, which is often augmented by reflection from these very obstacles. It is a great benefit to me, that part of the road which I shall have to tread, has of late been enlightened before me, by certain protestant writers, worthy of eternal memory for their impartiality as well as their talents ;* and it is now proved, beyond the possibility of a reply, that through the calumnies and misrepresentations which I have been speaking of, the world has been most egregiously deceived in the characters and conduct of those rival queens of the 16th. century, Mary of Scotland, and Elizabeth of England, for two whole centuries. Before however I enter upon my subject, I must remind you, Sir, that the English Catholics were not answerable for the politics or conduct of foreign courts, which happened to be of the same religious profession with them ; no, not even for those

* Goodall, Stuart, Tytler, Whitaker. [These modern writers, with all their learning and ingenuity, will be found barely to have arrived at that knowledge on the several points they have treated of, which Causin, in his *Holy Court*, Rishton, in his *Maria Innocens*, and other obscure Catholic writers, prove themselves to have been possessed of ever since the events in question took place.]

of the Pope himself, unless it should appear that they were governed by them, and acknowledged them as rules for their own conduct. I must also premise, that I am defending the conduct of the great body of Catholics, not of each individual that belonged to it. In every great society there will be found certain men of a different spirit from the generality ; and more particularly in every church there will be discovered many persons who adhere to it from motives of policy, rather than of religion. You have seen, Sir, in my History, that I have not alleged, either the seditious doctrines or behaviour of Protestants abroad, or the particular instances of sedition or insurrection that occurred amongst those at home, during the reign of Mary, by way of justifying the persecution which she inflicted upon the whole church of England, because I do not conceive that this church is answerable for the doctrine or conduct of French or Scotch Calvinists, and because I am satisfied that the seditions and insurrections above-mentioned neither infected the great body of her people, nor grew out of her avowed doctrine, but rather stood in opposition to it.

Elizabeth, in her private sentiments, was far from entertaining any aversion to the religion of Catholics. It was chiefly owing to her partiality for the hierarchy, for the decency and regularity of public worship, and for many other points of the ancient faith and discipline,* that the church of England is what it is, and that it has departed less from the ancient church than any other sect of Protestants whatsoever. Certain it is, that the inclination of most of her Protestant subjects led them strongly to Puritanism ; those of higher

* Heylin, p. 165.—Dr. Harding, in his *Epistle to the Queen*, printed in the year 1565, commends her for many orthodox opinions which she held, and particularly for having on the preceding Good-Friday applauded a preacher who had defended the real presence of Christ in the sacrament. In consequence of this her belief, the declaration which stood against it in article 29 of Edward the VI, is left out in the corresponding article of Elizabeth. See article 28 among the 39.

rank being influenced by motives of avarice,* those of the lower order by fanaticism. Nor is this all ; for the queen was known in private conversation to ridicule her own spiritual supremacy, and to acknowledge that of the Pope ;† she even intimated a wish, if circumstances would permit it, to follow the original faith.‡ But as ambition was amongst all her strong passions the most violent, and as the counsellors, to whom she referred the question of religion, convinced her that it was for her temporal interest, to cast off the Pope's jurisdiction, and to suppress the ancient religion,§ which her sister had restored, she took her determinations accordingly, and became, in the end, one of the most violent persecutors of Catholics upon record. Her dissimulation,** cruelty††

* It is certain that her three most active ministers, whose characters I shall shortly sketch, Leicester, Cecil, and Walsingham were all strongly inclined to puritanism. See Collier, Strype, Fuller, &c.

† The author of *An Answer to Sir Edward Coke's Reports*, says, that Lansac, who had been sent envoy to Elizabeth on a certain business, declared to many persons, on his return to France, that she had owned to him her conviction that the spiritual supremacy did not belong to her, but to St. Peter's successors ; but she said that her parliament and people obliged her to assume it. P. 365.

‡ The same author refers to lord Montague and the earl of Southampton for the truth of the queen's declarations to the aforesaid effect. Ibid. [The duke of Feria, after conversing with Elizabeth upon her accession, wrote to his master Philip to the said effect.]

§ Camden, *Annales Elizabethæ*, ann. 1558. [It is certain, however, she promised her Catholic subjects that "no trouble should arise to them for any difference in religion." Horas' Preface cited by Dr. Patinson. *Jerus. and Bab.* p. 437.]

** The strongest instance of dissimulation and hypocrisy upon record, is Elizabeth's solemn appeal to heaven in her letter to king James, that she was innocent of his mother's death, and that she held in particular abhorrence the above-mentioned vices.

†† See the proofs of her being privy to the murder of Rizzio and Darnley, and of her encouraging different attempts to assassinate queen Mary and king James, in Whitaker's *Vindication passim*.

and profligacy of manners* were only inferior to her ambition ; and as it was not to be expected that the court would be more virtuous than the queen, hence it is described, by an eye witness and member of it, " as a scene of all enormities, where wickedness reigned in the higheet degree ;"† and it has been asserted, with respect to her ministry in particular, by a Protestant author of character, that it was " the most wicked which has been known in any reign."‡

What has been said of the profligacy of Elizabeth's ministry is applicable, in the first degree, to the three most distinguished members of it, who were also the bitterest enemies of the Catholics, and the chief promoters of those plots and persecutions that were set on foot against them. The first of these, Robert Dudley, whilst he had the fate and dying declarations of his father fresh in his memory,§ led a quiet and unblamable life in that mediocrity of fortune to which the catastrophe alluded to had reduced him.** Being however afterwards distinguished by the queen for the beauty of his person, and raised by her to the earldom of Leicester, and other high dignities, he launched fourth into every excess with all the insolence and impunity of a royal minion. He caused the death of his first wife, by throwing her down stairs, in order to pave the way for his expected union with the

* See an account of the scandalous amours of this boasted virgin-queen with Leicester, Hatton, Simier, Raleigh, Blount, &c. *Ibid.* vol. ii, c. v.

† Viz. Nicholas Faunt, under secretary to Walsingham.—Birche's *Mem. Eliz.* vol. i.

‡ Short view of English History, by Bevil Higgons, p. 192.

§ Viz. Dudley, earl of Warwick, and duke of Northumberland, beheaded for rebellion in the former reign. At his death he professed himself very penitent for his crimes, and a convert to his ancient faith. This man's father was the Dudley who was executed with Empson for his extortions under Henry VII. His grandfather was a carpenter.

** See a learned but anonymous work, in Latin, published at Augsburg, in 1592, intituled *Responsio ad Edictum Eliz.*—Reg. Aug. p. 14.

queen.* Being disappointed in this hope, he debauched lady Sheffield, under promise of marriage,† but getting into an intrigue with the wife of Walter earl of Essex, he attempted to poison her, and actually poisoned the said nobleman, as he was returning home from Ireland to revenge the injury that had been offered to him; after which Leicester married that infamous countess. This scandalous behaviour lost him the affections of Elizabeth, but not her protection. Such was his private life. With respect to his public conduct, the celebrated Dr. Heylen has drawn the following sketch of it: “he (Leicester) engrossed the disposing of all offices of state and preferments of the church; proving himself so unappeasable in his malice, so insatiable in his lust, so sacrilegious in his rapines, so false in his promises, so treacherous in point of trust, and destructive to particular persons, that his finger lay heavier on English subjects than the loins of the favourites of the two last reigns.” He concludes with saying, that Leicester “cloaked all his monstrous vices under a pretended zeal for religion, being the head of the Puritan faction.”‡ This last particular is confirmed by another great advocate of the establishment, who says, that Leicester was “the chief of those who said that no bishops ought to be tolerated in a Christian land,” and that he had cast a covetous eye on Lambeth palace.”§

Sir William Cecil was an apt political instrument for the ever-varying and unprincipled times in which he lived. Sprung from an obscure family that had

* Ibid. p. 16. See Whitaker and his authorities, vol. iii, p. 558, where other instances of his talent in poisoning are mentioned. Camden relates, that when Elizabeth was considering on the manner of putting Mary to death, Leicester proposed poison, and sent a divine to Walsingham to prove the lawfulness of doing so. Ann. 1586.

† He had a son by her, who lived in great splendor in Tuscany assuming the title of duke of Northumberland, and who suggested to the grand duke the means of raising Leghorn to its present importance. Dodd, Ch. Hist. vol. ii.

‡ Heylin, Hist. of Eliz. p. 168.

§ Madox's Answer to Neal's Hist. of Purit. p. 187.

been settled at Stamford in Lincolnshire,* he became first known as an inferior agent in Henry's oppressions. In the next reign, having gained the favour of the protector Somerset, he rose to the rank of his principal secretary. But when he found his master's credit sinking, he joined the party of his enemies, and was greatly instrumental in bringing him to the scaffold;† after which he became the confidant and assistant of Dudley in all his other criminal measures.

These being defeated, and Mary placed on the throne, he was equally obsequious to the views and inclinations of this Catholic sovereign, being assiduous in hearing masses, repeating offices and litanies, and dropping his beads, which he had seldom out of his hands. He is even said to have mounted the pulpit in his parish church at Stamford, and there to have made a voluntary abjuration of his apostacy from the ancient faith.‡ By this hypocrisy he imposed upon cardinal Pole, Sir, William Petre, and others; but not upon the queen herself, who refused to place any confidence in him. Upon Elizabeth's succession he soon made it appear that he was of the religion of those who think *that gain is godliness*,§ declaring for that system which promised him and his associates the greatest part of church plunder. In the sacrilegious scramble which then took place, he contrived to secure for himself the greater part of the endowments of Peterborough cathedral, which made an adequate estate to support his new dignity of lord Burghley.**

* His father held an inferior situation in the royal wardrobe; his grandfather kept an inn at Stamford, and was afterwards one of the royal guards. Resp. p. 24.

† He is said to have drawn up the impeachment of Somerset. Ibid.

‡ Resp. p. 25.

§ 1 Tim. vi, 5.

** "During the vacancy of the see of Norwich, and during his (Dr. Scambler's) incumbency, sir William Cecil, principal secretary of state, possessed himself of the best manors in the Soke, which belonged to it, and for his (the bishop's) readiness to confirm them to him, he preferred him to the see of Norwich. Heylin, p. 138.

In a word, without speaking of the innocent blood of the queen of Scots, and of the other Catholics shed at home, this unprincipled politician was the chief agent in promoting those rebellions and civil wars amongst the subjects of foreign princes, particularly in Scotland France, and Flanders, and those various acts of piracy in the West Indies, South America and our own seas, by which the government of Elizabeth was rendered so infamous in the eyes of the other powers of Europe.*

Next to Cecil, for subtilty in contriving plans of treachery, corruption, assassination, and forgery, but superior to him for boldness and dexterity in executing them, was his fellow secretary of state, sir Francis Walsingham. To his savage nature the actual perpetration of cruelty, independent of the advantages to be derived from it, was peculiarly grateful. He was accustomed to beat and kick the Catholic prisoners who were brought before him for examination;† and his mistress knew his disposition so well, that when she had signed the deathwarrant for the execution of Mary, she ordered it to be immediately carried to Walsingham, as the most efficacious cordial for raising his spirits, then depressed by a severe illness.‡ He was the master artificer in those horrid forgeries, for which a writer of high character still living, and a clergyman of the established church, says the heads of the Reformation at that time were infamous, both in England and in Scotland.§ Finally, he was the

* The celebrated exploits of Drake, Cavendish, Holkstoake, &c. also the sending of troops to the insurgents in the Netherlands, and the capture of the Spanish treasure galloon when shipwrecked on our coast, were all contrary to the law of nations, having taken place in the time of professed peace.

† Respon. p. 19. Append. de Schism. Angl. p. 24. See an account of the secretary's savage behaviour to the priest, once a fellow of New College, John Mundy. Mem. Miss. pr. vol. i, p. 158.

‡ See Davidson's Apology, ap. Whitaker, vol. iii, p. 547.

§ "Forgery, I blush for the honour of Protestantism while I write it, seems to have been peculiar to the reformed....I look in vain for one of those accursed outrages of imposition a-

more immediate agent in those murderous arts of assassination and perverted justice, both of which Elizabeth's ministers employed to shorten the days of the unfortunate queen of Scots,* and also of her son James I.

When men of such principles had the wealth and power of a great kingdom in their hands, we may easily conceive to what lengths of calumny, oppression, and cruelty they were capable of proceeding against any man or body of men who had the misfortune to incur their hatred or their jealousy, as was the case with the hapless professors of the ancient religion. We are indeed not left to our suppositions on this head, or to the mere relations of the sufferers themselves; but we have a detailed account, by a cotemporary writer of the first rank, and a professed panegyrist of Elizabeth, of the infamous arts which her ministry employed against the Catholics. We learn from him that many "underhand artifices were practiced to discover people's inclinations"† So that it was not enough for the subject to be blameless in action, but methods were taken to extort his private wishes and thoughts. "Forged letters in the name of the queen of Scots, and of the English emigrants abroad, were conveyed into the houses of Catholics."‡ Other forged letters in their names were conveyed to the queen of Scots.§ Thus is fairly acknowledged,

mongst the disciples of Popery." Whitaker, *Vindic. of Mary*, vol. iii, p. 2. See also pp. 45, 46, &c.—"Forgery appears to have been the peculiar disease of Protestantism."—*Ibid.* p. 54.

* Mary, at her trial, reproached Walsingham "with having practised against her own and her son's life." Camden. *Annales Eliz.*—He was also deep in the Gowry conspiracy, &c. See more of this matter afterwards.

† "Certe ad explorandos hominum animos subdolæ artes fuisse adhibitæ." Cam. Ann. 1584.

‡ "Literæ ementitæ sub reginæ Scotorum et profugorum nominibus clam submissæ, et in pontificiorum ædibus relictæ." *Ibid.* 1586.

§ "Subreperunt emissarii et submissæ sunt tam fictæ quam veræ literæ quibus in perniciem impelleretur." *Ibid.*

what Catholics always suspected, and what is otherwise proved to have been the case, both in Elizabeth's and in the subsequent reigns, that their enemies hatched seditious and treasonable plots, and then made use of their agents to draw as many persons of that communion as they could into them, either to get rid of the parties themselves, or to throw a general infamy on the whole body to which they belonged. "Emissaries were dispersed every where abroad, to collect rumours and to catch unguarded words."*—It is certain, that such impostors were not only employed in England to feign themselves Catholics, and thereby to discover the priests who were hidden, but also many of them were sent into foreign countries, particularly to Rome, to Paris, and to Douay, &c. where they took notes, and sometimes portraits of the students, and other Catholics whom they met with, so that upon their arrival at any sea-port in England, they were sometimes immediately known and seized upon;† at other times the said notes were employed in fabricating pretended, or in extending real plots. The emissaries in question were sometimes criminals or other prisoners, who procured their freedom by accepting of such base employments. Sometimes they were out-laws, who were permitted to return to England on the same conditions.‡ Not a few were dis-

* "Emissarii ubique ad colligendos rumores et verba captanda dispersi." Camden.

† Mem. Miss. Pr. passim.

‡ Such was Egremont Radcliff, half brother to the earl of Sussex, who having been outlawed for the share he had in the Northern rebellion, wrote the most earnest letters from abroad to Cecil, in which he repeatedly offered himself to perform any service that should be put upon him, or to undergo any danger to which he should be exposed, provided he might obtain his pardon. He accordingly came over to England, in 1576 or 1577, where he conferred with Walsingham, and was again sent abroad: soon after which he was executed, with his companion Grey, for an attempt upon the life of Don John of Austria, governor of the Low Countries. Camden acknowledges, that the Spaniards testified his having confessed, at his death, that he was commissioned by Walsingham to undertake this assassination, ~~but that~~ the English denied the fact. It is impos-

orderly youths who had been dismissed from the seminaries, or other apostate Catholics who were actuated by resentment, distress, or the fear of persecution.* Finally, we are even told, that "false informers were encouraged to accuse Catholics,"† and that the latter complained of being surrounded with such snares that it was impossible for them to escape the imputation of disloyalty ;‡ which account is confirmed by the historian himself, who says, speaking of them, "innocence itself, when guarded by prudence, was no security to them.§ These observations are

sible, however, to read that wretch's several letters to Burghly, in Strype and to compare circumstances together, without the fullest conviction that what the Spaniards asserted was true.—[See a particular account of this business, Lib. iii, de Schism. Angl. p. 303.] Upon the death of Mary an English assassin was sent to take off her son James by poison or some other way, as Whitaker proves from Moyse's Memoirs. See Vindication, vol. i, p. 265.—Different attempts were made upon the life of cardinal Allen, and the common well of the seminary of Douay was poisoned, which crimes were, with just cause, ascribed to the emissaries of Walsingham, Sec. Richton's Append. to Sanders, de Schism. Ang. c. v.—See afterwards the History of W. Parry.

* Such were Elliot, Munday, Sledd, Norton, also the apostate priests Tyrrel, Nichols, Bennet, &c. It is true these last mentioned retracted their depositions, and asked pardon of those whom they had accused, as may be seen in Rishton, Dodd, Strype, and Challoner's Memoirs, passim.

† "Vana deferentes admissi." Camd. ibid.

‡ "Baro Pagettus, car. Arundellus cum aliis conquerebantur reginam malis Leicestrii et Walsinghami artibus ab ipsis immerito abalienari, singularia freudis genera excogitari, tendiculas occultas poni, ut laqueis læsæ majestatis, velint nolint, improvidi irretirentur, nec domi spem salutis ullam." Ibid.

§ "Vix præsidio erat innocentia prudens." Ibid.—The most singular circumstance in the whole account is, that Camden excuses all this oppression, under a pretence which will justify the cruelty of every tyrant upon record. His words are these : "Nec hujusmodi quidem artes, et prona credulitas vana censenda, cum de principis salute timeatur." Ibid.—How far a just government is allowed to proceed in detecting conspiracies that actually exist, I am not prepared to determine ; but to invent or encourage them, in order to get rid of obnoxious persons, is a practice that ought to be confined to those wicked spirits

proper to be suggested to every person of candour, who peruses the general accounts of the Catholics during the long persecution that Elizabeth carried on against them, and more particularly the inflamed charges which you bring forward in order to vindicate that persecution. I may apply to the whole of this historical controversy the judicious and candid remark of the sagacious historian, whom I have referred to above, concerning the part of it which relates to the queen of Scots, "Thus surrounded," he says, "as we are by artifice and imposture on every side, when we find in the records of the times any thing that looks like real evidence, we cannot but suspect it of being sophisticated."*

In proceeding to state your arguments against the fidelity of Catholics under Elizabeth, were not you struck with the contrast that occurs between their behaviour at the beginning of her reign, and that of the chief Protestants, both clergy and laity, at the beginning of the reign of her sister Mary? The latter you know rose in arms and endeavoured to enthrone a usurper of their own religion,† in the place of the lawful sovereign, and when suppressed and treated with lenity, they renewed their rebellion a second time in little more than the space of half a year;‡ whereas the Catholics, though unquestionably at that time the most powerful party, made not the smallest opposition

who tempt men to sin here, in order to punish them hereafter.

* Whitaker.

† The lady Jane, who was supported by Cranmer, Ridley, Hooper, Rogers, Jewel, and by the whole council which had effected the change of religion in the former reign.

‡ The rebellion of the duke of Suffolk, lord Grey, bishop Poynt, sir Thomas Wyatt, &c. Dr. S. expresses himself in terms of implied approbation of this cause where he says,— "Wyat's insurrection was occasioned by the just apprehension of the public, both on account of religion and national independency." P. 70.—I wish he would speak out fairly and tell us, whether it is equally unlawful for every sect to rebel against a government of a different religion from themselves, or whether some one or more sects have an exclusive privilege of this na-

to the accession of Elizabeth, notwithstanding the illegitimacy of her birth in the eye of the canon law, and the refusal of that "violent old Pontiff," as you term Paul IV,* (whose conduct I blame no less than yourself) to acknowledge her title. All the bishops indeed, except Oglethorp of Carlisle, declined to officiate at the ceremony of her coronation;† but they never disputed her right to the crown,‡ since it was recognized by the legislature, and the Catholic nobility beheld her violate her coronation oath, and make the most important changes in the established religion§ by her own authority, and previously to the meeting of parliament, without the smallest symptom of sedition or disloyalty. The case is, for want of evidence on this occasion at home against the Catholics, you are obliged to seek for it abroad, and accordingly you tell us, that "the king of France, not succeeding in his endeavours to procure from the Pope Elizabeth's excommunication, ordered his son, the dauphin, and Mary queen of Scots, to assume the title of king and queen of England, &c. and that after his death they retained the same pretensions."*** But pray, Sir,

ture.—[Nothing is more certain than that the princess, afterwards queen Elizabeth, and Courtney, who was flattered with the hope of marrying her, were concerned in Wyatt's rebellion. This appears by the confession of several of the prisoners taken in that attempt, and particularly by the declaration of lord Russel, who certified that during the rebellion he himself "received letters from Wyatt directed to the lady Elizabeth, which he had conveyed to her." See Extracts from the Dispatches of M. de Noailles, the French ambassador in England, published in a work called *New Lights thrown upon the History of Mary Queen of England*, addressed to David Hume. Printed for J. Wilkie, 1771.]

* P. 55.

† Heylin, p. 106.

[‡ On the contrary they did homage to her and acknowledged her right to the throne.]

§ "By a proclamation, published Dec. 30, 1558, she required that all such rites and ceremonies should be observed in parish churches as were used in her chapel." Heylin, p. 104.

[** Dr. S. repeats this charge against the unfortunate Mary on another occasion, p. 171, 2d. ed. by way of extenuating E—

inform me, did any of the English Catholics acknowledge the justice of these pretensions? If not, this first argument you have brought in justification of the penal laws against them, is the strongest recommendation of their fidelity, and afforded the most equitable claim, on their part, to the protection and favour of a just government; for it proves, that if they had been disposed to raise a rebellion in behalf of their religion, they would not have wanted the assistance of one of the most powerful princes in Christendom.

You are not less successful, Sir, in your attack upon the Pope, in the passage I have quoted, than in that which you make upon the English Catholics. For, whereas you undertake to demonstrate that "every attempt directed against Elizabeth was carried on under the avowed patronage and sanction of Rome;"* you are forced to acknowledge that the very first attempt of this nature met with a direct opposition from that quarter; the Pope refusing, as you inform us, to excommunicate the queen at the solicitation of the court of France. Your next instance is as little to the purpose as either of the former in criminating either the Catholics or the Pope. You say, "in 1561 a conspiracy was formed by two nephews of cardinal Pole, in favour of Mary." But, Sir, neither your author, Hume,†

Elizabeth's cruelty to her, at the same time that he himself admits she did not assume the arms and title voluntarily, but by the command of her father-in-law, the king of France; and at the same time that he must know she laid them down as soon as she was her own mistress, by the death of Francis II. See Whitaker's *Vindication of Mary*, vol. i, p. 39. The ground on which many foreigners denied Elizabeth's title was no slight one, namely, the invalidity of king Henry's marriage with her mother Ann Boleyn, whilst his queen, Catherine of Arragon, was living. However Elizabeth had been legitimated by parliament, the act of which was sufficient to establish her title within this realm.]

* P. 73.

† How servilely Dr. S. follows Hume appears by his copying even his anachronisms. Thus, in the present instance, he follows this very inaccurate historian, in placing the present

nor any other author, has pretended to trace this conspiracy to Rome, or to the English Catholics, nor has any of them furnished grounds to believe that these two young men were even of the Catholic communion. In a word, this foolish conspiracy was not, after all, directed against the person or government of Elizabeth, but only calculated to support the succession of Mary in case of the former's decease, which some astrologers had taught the youths to expect within the compass of a year.* By following the above-mentioned treacherous guide, you have fallen into an egregious error in making the duke of Norfolk the author of the Northern rebellion, where you write as follows: "An insurrection, occasioned by the duke of Norfolk, who wished to marry Mary, took place in 1569."† It is true, that Hume, who, like a dramatic writer, is ever intent on thickening his plot, endeavours to connect together those two events. But the following authentic facts entirely overthrow his and your theory. Norfolk was a prisoner in the tower, in punishment of his matrimonial project, (though concerted with all the queen's ministers, except Cecil and Bacon) at the time of

conspiracy in 1561, whilst Heylin, (*Eliz.* p. 154) whom they both equally quote, refers it to 1562, as do also Camden, Strype, &c. [In his 2d edition Dr. S. is pleased to correct this error.]

* Camden, ann. 1562. [Dr. S. boasts of Elizabeth's mercy in pardoning these two young men. The fact is, they were not brought out to public execution, probably out of respect to the royal blood which flowed in their veins, but they died prisoners in the Tower, sometime between the years 1565 and 1578; being both then in the flower of their age, and from different circumstances put together, there is reason to believe they were privately dispatched, in the same manner as I am convinced the duke of Northumberland, Somerville, and other state prisoners in Elizabeth's reign, were, and as it is certain the latter wished her relation the queen of Scots to be dispatched. See the Rev. Mr. Brand's account of certain inscriptions on the walls in the Tower of London. *Archæol.* vol. xiii, p. 77.]

† P. 66. [Dr. S. in his 2d edition, p. 151, corrects the historical error here proved against him; but does not even attempt to mend his defective argumentation.]

Northumberland's taking up arms in the North,* when, so far from aiding the rebellion, he gave orders to his vassals and tenants to afford all their assistance in quelling it.† Finally, it is unjust in you to alledge the conduct of Norfolk, whatever that might have been, by way of criminating Catholics, as this nobleman lived and died a professed Protestant.‡ But still it may be said, (though you have overlooked this strongest ground for your charge) that a rebellion was actually raised in the North by the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, for which the abrogation of the Catholic religion was one of the foremost pretexts. This, Sir, I grant, nor am I surprised that persons in their situation, who had taken up arms against government, should make use in their manifesto of so popular an argument as that in question still was amongst the majority of the nobility, gentry, and peasantry, at a distance from the capital.§ But, Sir, there were other motives, which had a much greater weight with the authors of this insurrection than those of religion, namely, a jealousy of the undue influence of Cecil and his friends over the mind of their sovereign,** and

* Norfolk was committed prisoner to the Tower, Oct. 11.—Northumberland, being edged on by the particular artifices which Camden describes, took up arms Nov. 14. It is a circumstance which has escaped all our historians, that the original plan of Norfolk's marriage with Mary was laid at the mansion of Winchester's house in London, in 1568, at a meeting of the prime nobility, one of whom was the earl of Leicester, who afterwards betrayed the secrets of the meeting to Elizabeth.—One part of their plan was to prosecute Cecil and Bacon, and to get them capitally convicted and executed. Respon. ad. E. dict. p. 32.

† Camden, Echard.

‡ Camden, ann. 1572.

[§ "Divisâ in tres partes Angliâ, una ex tribus non erat eo tempore hæretica. Nam Præter plurimos ex optimatibus præcipuis, parâ major inferioris nobilitatis erat plane Catholica.—Plebei quoque, qui agriculturam per totum regnum exercent novitatem istam imprimis detestabantur. Hoc enim nobis pueris observatum est." Rishton de Schism. Angl. p. 272.]

* "Ut multitudinem imperitam contraherent, alios imperarunt ut armati se conjungerent ad reginam tutandam, aliis in-

resentment for a particular injury which the duke of Northumberland had suffered, in the seizure, by the officers of the crown, of a rich mine that had been discovered upon his estate.* In a word, Sir, whatever may be said of the immediate authors of this insurrection, the incident itself only served to display the fidelity of the Catholics at large throughout the kingdom, to a Protestant and a persecuting sovereign, in the most advantageous light. For we are assured, that they were universally solicited to take advantage of the situation of public affairs, and to join in the rebellion; which if they had done, considering the power and influence of the nobility and gentry at that time, I am convinced they might have acted the same part by Elizabeth in England, which Mary's Protestant subjects were then acting by her in Scotland: but they knew their duty too well to violate their allegiance, in order to redress their religious grievances. Accordingly we are assured by unquestionable authority, that "the greater part of them sent the letters and messengers which they had received for the above-mentioned purpose to the queen, and that all of them offered their lives and fortunes in her defence: so that she was highly delighted and returned thanks to God for this singular proof of the loyalty of her subjects."†

nuerunt universos Angliæ procures ad Romanam religionem restaurandam conspirasse, aliis se necessarie adactos ut arma sumerent ne prisca Angliæ nobilitas a novis hominibus conculcetur." Camd.—It is to be particularly remarked, that in their manifesto they did not deny, but expressly acknowledged the queen's title. "Declarant se in reginam nihil moliri, cui obsequentissimos subditos esse et fore devovent." Camd.

* Ibid.

† "Literas ad pontificios circumquaque per regnum mittant, ut vires conjungerent. Tantum autem abfuit ut se consociarint, ut plerique acceptas literas cum latoribus ad reginam transmiserint; suamque singuli ex omnibus regni partibus operam et opes contra illos, et ipse etiam Norfocius, certatim obtulerint. Adeo ut summam certe et singularem subditorum fidem in ipsam perspexerit, et hoc nomine divinam benignitatem gratissimo animo agnoverit." Camd.

R

To proceed with your catalogue of charges against the Catholics : “ Pius IV,” you say, “ in 1570, published a bull against Elizabeth, excommunicated her, declared her title to the crown void, and absolved her subjects from their oaths of allegiance.”* Not to speak of your mistaking Pius IV, who died in 1565, for Pius V, and the year 1570 for 1569.† I shall here, previously to my answering the substance of your objection, make a very necessary and striking distinction. I presume then, Sir, you will not dispute the pontiff’s right to declare who are, and who are not, members of his communion ; or, in short, to exercise the mere spiritual right of excommunication with respect to every individual who is, or who pretends to be, a member of the universal church, of which he is the head.— At all events the Catholics acknowledge this spiritual authority in him, and I am willing to abide by any consequence which you are able to draw from this avowal. But, Sir, the case is very different with respect to the claim of deposing princes, or of depriving any persons whomsoever of their temporal rights, which some Pontiffs have asserted and exercised.— For this claim has ever been contested with such Pontiffs, in the very zenith of their power, by Catholics of the most orthodox principles, and the most exemplary lives ; nor have the Popes, on account of this resistance, ceased to hold communion with them, as the example of the whole Gallican church proved during many ages. To form a clear idea of this matter, you must remark, Sir, that the abettors of the deposing power maintained it, not as an article of Catholic faith, but as a scholastic doctrine, which they thought they could defend by sufficient arguments of theology.—

* P. 66.

† See the date of the bull, viz. 5° Kal. Martii, 1569. Camd. [Dr. S. now corrects the egregious blunder into which he fell by ascribing the bull in question to Pius IV, instead of Pius V ; but to avoid confessing too many obligations to me, he entirely suppresses the date of the bull, though I have proved it to have been issued in 1569.]

They grounded it not on any supposed temporal dominion of the successor of St. Peter, but upon his authority to arbitrate amongst Christians, and to decide that nice point, which the reformers decided for themselves,* namely, at what point the tyranny of the superior grows to be so oppressive to the subject that submission to him ceases to be a conscientious obligation. I now, Sir, come to speak of the case which you have proposed. It is true, that the Pope did issue a decree pretty nearly of the tenor which you have described. But the grand question recurs, how far this affected the allegiance of the English Catholics? Did they receive that sentence of deposition against their sovereign? Did they act up to the letter or spirit of it? The fact is, only one person in their whole number, John Felton, a lay gentleman, who affixed it to the door of the bishop of London's house, is known to have approved of it, for which act he died, condemned, by the whole Catholic body no less than by Protestants.† You go on: "In 1571 Norfolk entered into a new conspiracy, for which he suffered. Both these attempts were made in concert with the duke of Alva." In the name of common sense, Sir, how are the English Catholics, or the Pope, answerable for the matrimonial intrigues of that Protestant nobleman, or for the political views of the governor of the Low Countries?

* Dr. S. introduces a note, p. 66, in which he attempts to answer a theological exposition of the doctrine of oaths, which I had occasion to give in my History, vol. i, p. 258, by ridicule instead of argument, and pretends to argue from general practice, that Catholics consider their oaths of allegiance to Protestant sovereigns to admit of being dispensed with. This is a very unfortunate remark on his part, as it has been demonstrated by Dr. Patinson, F. Parsons, and others, that more sovereign princes were deposed, in the whole or in part of their dominions, by their Protestant subjects, during the first century after the Reformation, than have been deposed by the Popes from the time of their first pretending to such power.

† "Hanc bullam pontificii plerique modestiores improbant, multique eorum in debita deinceps obedientia firmi permanse-runt, cum vicinos principes et Catholicas provincias assuetis cum regina commerciis minime abstinere et bullam tanquam

From England you carry us to France and the Netherlands, in order to state certain transactions which have already been noticed. All that I shall say further concerning them is, to request you, Sir, to lay your hand upon your heart, and to answer me sincerely, whether you think the behaviour of the Catholics, that is to say, the professors of the ancient religion of this country, towards their Protestant sovereign, Elizabeth, would suffer by a comparison with the conduct of the Huguenots of France towards their successive Catholic monarchs, or of the Calvinists of the Low Countries towards Charles V, and Philip II, even previously to the arrival of the duke of Alva amongst them, or of the Swedish Lutherans towards the pious Sigismund, or of the Scotch Presbyterians towards their celebrated queen, or of our own churchmen towards Mary I. ? I will not pay so bad a compliment, either to your information or your candour, as to doubt, whether this question would not make you wish to withdraw all your charges against the fidelity of the English Catholics.

Your next attack is made upon the foreign seminaries : " About this time," you say, " institutions were

vanum verborum fragorem contemni viderent." Camd. an. 1570. Amongst those who disapproved of the excommunication, we are assured, were cardinal Allen and bishop Watson, who wished " that the whole business had been left to the judgment of God." Patinson, *Image of churches*, p. 503. This writer remarks, that Pius V, must have had some very particular reasons for the conduct in question, as Elizabeth was the only one of our Protestant sovereigns who was publicly excommunicated by the see of Rome, and as none of the foreign princes, who embraced the Reformation, were subjected to this disgrace, in Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Scotland, Berne, &c. [I may add from the testimony of some authors, and with still greater certainty from the notoriety of the thing itself that Pius V, did not require the English Catholics to receive or observe his bull. In fact he never published it or signified it to them, as Dodd remarks, vol. ii, p. 50. It appears also from More's *History of the English Province*, Dodd, Patinson, &c. that Gregory XIII, the successor of Pius, at the request of F. Camerian Parsons, and others, made some kind of explicit interpretation of the bull to the aforesaid effect.

formed and levelled against the religion of the country. These were seminaries at Douay, Rheims, and Rome, under the direction of the Jesuits, for the express purpose of educating English ecclesiastics, who were to act as missionaries, to inspire the queen's subjects with detestation of her as an heretic and devoted to perdition, and to encourage them to execute on her the papal sentence."* This is an abridgment of the unfaithful and calumniating Hume's account of the matter, and almost in his words. But, Sir, if I make it appear, that you and your guide are guilty of the most egregious errors, with respect to plain matter of fact in your account of these seminaries, I think no one ought to give you credit for your opinion concerning the intentions for which they were instituted. In the first place then, you yourself assign two different dates for the first of these establishments; and both of them different from the real date of it. In the passage above quoted, you ascribe this institution to about the year 1572. In another place you say, "the hostile seminaries of Rheims and Douay were instituted about the 23d year of Elizabeth's reign."† which corresponds with the year of Christ 1581. In the second place, you describe the seminaries of Rheims and Douay as two distinct establishments; whereas they formed but one and the same society, which having been first founded in 1568 at Douay, by Dr. Allen,‡ who had been formerly principal of

* P. 67.

† P. 73.

‡ David Hume, who is as much a romance-writer as he is an historian, introduces the king of Spain as pondering on the necessity of giving the Catholic youth and ecclesiastics "some species of literature in order to support their doctrine and controversies, and for this reason founding the seminary of Douay." He adds that "the cardinal of Lorraine imitated his example by erecting a like seminary at Rheims. The fact is, Philip and his government, so far from founding the seminary at Douay, which was done at the expence of Dr. Allen himself and his friends did not even afford it effectual protection. Camden however, expresses himself in too strong terms of the Spanish governor, Requesens, where he says of him, "that he dissolved

St. Mary's-hall, Oxford, and became afterwards cardinal, was forced by the popular commotions in the Low Countries to retire to Rheims in 1578, where its members continued until the year 1593, when, the commotions being quelled, they returned to Douay.* Lastly, both yourself and Hume impose a direct falsehood upon your readers, where you assert, that the seminaries of Douay, Rheims, and Rome, "were under the direction of the Jesuits." The grand establishment that removed from Douay to Rheims, and from Rheims again to Douay, (being the chief nursery for Catholic priests, as having alone furnished one hundred and fifty of that order who laid down their lives for their religion) was never under the direction of the Jesuits, and even the small college at Rome was not originally subject to them. But, Sir, to meet your accusation more directly, tell me, in what respect the seminaries were more "levelled against the religion of their country," or more "hostile" to it, than the English Protestant societies, under the direction of Cox, Knøx, Fox. Willock, Jewel, Horn, Goodman, and Whittingham, at Zurich, Franckfort, and Geneva, had been in the reign of queen Mary? It is true they were instituted for preserving the ancient religion of England, being the only means left for this purpose, when the means of obtaining a

the seminary of Douay at the request of the English ambassador, Wilson." Ann. 1575. Strype, who was a much more careful historian, though a more virulent writer than Hume, makes cardinal Allen himself a Jesuit. He was so ill informed in Catholic affairs, as to say, that Douay college was transferred into Scotland; but what is infinitely worse, he puts down a false and forged form of oath, which he pretends was taken in that seminary. Vol. ii, p. 630. [The real oath may be seen in Rishton, p. 92, in Dodd's Ch. Hist. vol. iii, and in Collier, p. ii, p. 520.]

* Dodd, vol. ii, p. 46. [Dr. S. makes an awkward attempt, in his second edition, p. 153, to disengage himself from the notorious errors of which I have convicted him by new modelling the paragraph in which the greater of them are contained.—The truth however is, almost all of them still remain, except that which ascribes the direction of the grand secular college to the Jesuits.]

liberal education and Catholic ordination were intercepted at home by the persecution of Elizabeth's government; but it is a shameful calumny, that the "express purpose of educating English ecclesiastics in them was to inspire the queen's subjects with detestation of her, and to encourage them to execute on her the papal sentence;" or, as Hume more openly expresses it, that "sedition, treason, and sometimes assassination, were the expedients by which they (the seminary priests) purposed to effectuate their purposes against her"* So far from any thing of this sort being true, I will venture to say of the seminaries in question, and of the other colleges which were afterwards founded in imitation of them, that from the time of their institution until they were swallowed up in the present deluge of impiety and anarchy, they were models to all places of education throughout Christendom for the religious piety, the strict morality, the regular discipline, and the constant application to study, which prevailed in them. The young men that chiefly peopled them in the reign of Elizabeth were students from Oxford, who had quitted all their worldly comforts and hopes, and exposed themselves to the most ignominious and cruel death, in order to embrace the religion which was agreeable to their consciences, and to communicate it to others.† They were taught indeed to prefer this to every other consideration, but they were also instructed to be subject to their princes and civil magistrates in all points except those of a religious nature, *not only for wrath' but also for conscience-sake.*‡ They were particularly

* Eliz. c. iv.

† See Memoirs of Miss. Pr. Dodd's Hist. passim.

‡ Rom. xiii, 5. [Dr. S. is pleased to take notice of this defence of the seminaries, in his second edition p. 156, in opposition to which he tells us of the complaint which the English ambassador Dale made to the Duke of Parma, viz. that cardinal Allen had published a book exhorting the nation to execute the Pope's bull against Elizabeth. In answer to this I will not define an ambassador, as one of our princes did, "*homo peregre missus ad mentiendum reipublicæ causâ,*" but I will say, that most ambassadors occasionally urge pleas which

admonished to acknowledge the queen's title to the throne, notwithstanding the sentence of excommunication that stood out against her; and the question concerning the Pope's claim to depose princes was absolutely shut out of their schools, and prohibited from being canvassed, even in private conversation, amongst them.* We have still in our hands many publications that issued from these seminaries, and so far from inculcating the seditious lessons that yourself indirectly, and Hume more openly charge them with, they will be found to teach directly the contrary.† In particular we are assured, that on the oc-

they themselves do not give credit to, and that in what they do believe they are as liable to be deceived as other men. The truth is, no such work was published by the cardinal, as appears by the catalogue of his writings. Dodd, vol. ii, p. 153. I have shewn above that he did not even approve of the bull. We observe that Camden accuses the cardinal's friend, Gregory Martin, the most learned biblical scholar of his age and the chief translator of the Douay Bible, of writing a treatise on Schism, which contained some treasonable allusions to the history of Judith, at a time when, as Anth. Wood, Athen. Oxon, proves, he had been dead two years.]

* Cardinal Allen's Answer to Cecil's Execution of Angl. Just. This work has been misrepresented by a crowd of writers, who never saw a page of it, as teaching quite opposite doctrines to those which it actually contains. A summary of it may be seen in Strype's Annals of Ref. vol. iii, p. 66.

[† See in particular the Rheims Testament with Annotations, by card. Allen, Greg. Martin, Dr. Bristow, and other divines of Douay College, where amongst other passages of the same tendency we read as follows: "subjects are bound in temporal things to obey even the heathens, being their lawful kings, and to be subject to them for conscience, to observe their temporal laws, to pay them tribute, to pray for them, and to perform all other duties of natural allegiance," p. 301. Dr. Kellison, who was one of the cardinal's scholars, and afterwards the fourth president of Douay College, expressly teaches that "faith is not necessary to jurisdiction, neither is any authority lost by the loss of faith." Survey of Relig. Very different from this was the doctrine of most of the above-mentioned English fugitives in queen Mary's time. For the seditious doctrine and conduct of Knox and Willock in Scotland, see Robertson's History of Scotland, vol. i, p. 205, &c. The former of these, in his book to the nobility, &c. of Scotland, ex-

casion when they were most heavily calumniated, namely, on the disclosure of Babington's plot, "they, the divines of Rheims, directed a pastoral to the Catholics of England, warning them against disturbing the government, and telling them, that prayers and tears were the only arms which they ought to make use of against their persecutors."* Hence, Sir, you will not find more than one Catholic, whether priest or layman, amongst the two hundred sufferers for their religion under Elizabeth, that refused to acknowledge her title to the crown,† and not more than one seminary priest, out of above one hundred and thirty of that description then executed, who appears to have been concerned in any real conspiracy.‡ It is true, a pretended plot against the queen's person and government, which you hint at,§ that was said to have

pressly says: "No oath or promise can oblige any man to obey or give assistance to tyrants against God;" and in his Sermons, says Lesley bishop of Ross, *Hist.* l. 10, "he inveighed bitterly against the nobility for not having put out of the way that Jesabel, the queen regent." He not only approved of, but also was concerned in the assassination of cardinal Beaton. This is also praised, as also the rebellion of sir Tho. Wyatt, by J. Fox. Jewel afterwards bishop of Salisbury, and Sands, Archbp. of York, no less than Cranmer and Ridley, took an active part in the rebellion of Jane Grey, against the children of Henry VIII. Goodman, in his book *De Obedientia*, written at Geneva, says, "It is a duty incumbent on all the people to see that idolaters be punished, however great they may be, whether king, queen, or emperor. If the governors fall from God, away with them to the gallows (*ad furcas abripiant*). He adds that Wyatt did his duty, and that all professors of the gospel ought to have risen with him, that Mary is a monster and a beast, who ought to be put to death. The aforesaid book is ushered in with a preface by Whittingham, another Protestant fugitive, who afterwards became dean of Durham, commending it and testifying that it was approved of by the chief divines of the place.]

* Collier, *Ch. Hist.* vol. ii, p. 599.

† James Leyburn, executed at Lancaster in 1583, whose name is therefore omitted in Dr. Challoner's *Memoirs*.

‡ John Ballard, who was entangled in Babington's plot by Walsingham's emissary, Maud.

§ P. 73.

been formed at Rheims and Rome, was sworn to by a set of perjured hirelings,* against the priests, Campian,† Sherwin and about a dozen others, and they were actually put to death upon the charge at the close of the year 1581. But the falsehood of the whole accusation appears from the account of the queen's professed advocate, Camden. This author admits, that Elizabeth was overcome, by the entreaties of her ministers, to consent that Campian and his companions should be tried for treason, which entreaties would not have been necessary if she had really thought them guilty of it. He moreover acquaints us with the motives for these trials and subsequent executions, namely, to appease the minds of

[* Eliot, Norton and Sledd, men of infamous character, and fit agents for sir F. Walsingham their employer. In some instances their perjury was so glaring, particularly in what they swore against dean Collington, that part of their prey unavoidably escaped them. Fuller adds concerning these wretches : "some of Walsingham's emissaries were bred in Rome itself. It seems his holiness was not infallible in every thing, who paid pensions to some of Walsingham's spies sent thither to detect Catholics. Of these Sledd and Eliot were the principal. Surely these setters could not accomplish their ends, but with deep dissembling and damnable lying." Ch. Hist.]

† F. Campian was a man who had been distinguished by his talents and public exercises at Oxford, previously to his embracing the Catholic faith. Upon his return to England, he addressed to that university a work, still extant, called *Decem Rationes*, distinguished for its purity of style, and perspicuity of reasoning. Amongst other persons of consideration whom he reconciled to the ancient church, was the bishop of Gloucester, Dr. Cheney. Strype's *Annals*, vol. ii, p. 107. On his trial he entirely overthrew all the arguments brought to establish his guilt, to the satisfaction of all present, and the attorney general-Popham, was constrained to signify to the jury, that it was her majesty's pleasure that the prisoner should suffer. [He was previously tortured three or four times, "*usque ad quassationem et luxationem omnium membrorum*," and though we have heard above Camden assert that he was able afterwards to sign his name to his examination, yet at his trial he was unable to lift up his hand at the bar, and being asked, after his racking, how he felt his hands and feet, he answered, "not ill, because I do not feel them at all." *De Schism. Angl.* p. 322, *Mem. Miss. pp. 1, 45.*] See the authorities cited in *Mem. Miss.* vol. i.

the multitude, who thought that the Protestant religion was in danger, in consequence of Elizabeth's projected marriage with the duke of Anjou.* Finally, we are to observe, that their lives were severally offered to most of them, on condition of their changing their religion;† which every one must see would have been no atonement for real treason.

[I can conceive no reason for thrusting the following new charge into the second edition of the REFLECTIONS, except it be to give displeasure to the numerous descendants and relatives of an ancient and renowned family. Immediately before the mention of Parry's infamous business, you now say: "Throckmorton's conspiracy, concerted with Spain, was discovered in 1584."‡ Certain it is, that a fair discussion of this fresh accusation, no less than of the former, will tend much more to criminate the sworn enemies of the Catholics in Elizabeth's ministry, than the Catholics themselves. It appears, then, that the honorable family in question was peculiarly obnoxious to the two leaders of this ministry. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, fourth son of Sir George, the builder of Coughton Castle,§ after performing the most important services to Elizabeth, particularly in his embassies to Scotland and France, was never able to obtain, through the envy of Cecil, any better reward than the unproductive posts of chief butler of England and

* "Post Andini in Angliam adventum, regina ut formidinem demeret, quæ multorum animos occuparat religionem immutatem iri, et pontificios tolerandos, importunis precibus evicta permisit ut Edm. Campianus, R. Sherwin, &c. sacerdotes judicio sisterentur ex lege xxv. Edw. III," &c. Camd. Ann. 1581.

† Mem. Miss. Pr. vol. i, p. 51, &c.

[‡ P. 154. Dr. S. is once more misled by Hume as to the date of this transaction. We shall soon see that Francis Throckmorton was committed to the Tower Nov. 7, 1583. I thought I had by this time furnished him with sufficient reasons not to trust himself to so treacherous a guide as Hume in matters of history.]

[§ Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickshire, p. 561.]

chamberlain of the exchequer.* He courted indeed the favour of Leicester, who recompensed him by inviting him to one of those suppers which he understood so well to season for the guests whom he wished to see no more. In short, he appears to have been poisoned by him.† Sir John Throckmorton the seventh son of the aforesaid Sir George, applied himself to the study of the law, and after being made a knight of the garter in the first year of Elizabeth, rose to the office of chief justice of the palatinate of Chester, from which however he was contumeliously degraded through the malice of Leicester, upon a very frivolous pretext.‡ Soon after this his eldest son Francis was seized upon and committed to the tower, under the usual pretence against Catholics at that period of being implicated in a conspiracy for setting at liberty the queen of Scots. Ten days afterwards his brother George was sent to the same place. Amongst his papers, which he had endeavoured to get conveyed to Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, for their greater security, but which fell into the hands of the ministry, were said to be two of a treasonable nature, name-

[* “ Multis legationibus magna cum laude defunctis, nisi ad exiguas opes et tennes illas dignitates, licet nomine speciosas, primarii pincernæ Angliæ et camerarii fisci regalis, emergere non poterat, dum Cecilio, æmulatorem in Leicesterii gratiam se objiceret.” Camden, Annal Eliz. A. D. 1570.]

[† “ In Leicesterit ædibus inter cœnandum dum acetariis affatim vesceretur, ut alii perhibent peripneumonia, ut alii vehementi catarro oppressus, non sine suspitione veneni, mortem tempestive sibi et suis oppetiit.” Ibid. It will not be credited that the personage in question died suddenly by eating of mere sallad, nor that an inflammation of the lungs or rheum should so quickly become fatal; whereas we can easily conceive that a little of Leicester's noted powder, mixed with the sallad, would affect both the chest and the head, whilst it was producing its intended effect upon the whole frame.]

[‡ Joannes Throckmorton, Justiciarius Cestriæ, qui non ita pridem Leicesterii artibus de gradu dejectus et mulctatus, eo quod *finem* sive transactionem judicialem, ex authentico sive originali carie corrupto, descriptam in quibusdam suppleisset, et non cum omnibus in eodem lacunis exhibuisset.” Camd. Anal. A. D. 1584.]

ly, a list of sea-ports proper for the invasion of an enemy, and another of the principal Catholics who might be expected to favour an attempt of that nature.* These papers, when under no improper influence, Throckmorton constantly and firmly denied to belong to him, asserting that they had been fraudulently conveyed into his portfolio after his enemies had got possession of it.† On two occasions however he was induced to confess the contrary, namely, upon his being racked a second time in the Tower,‡ and once again after his condem-

[* Ibid.]

[† Ibid.]

[‡ Hume, Rapin, &c. assert that Throckmorton's confession was produced merely by the apprehension of torture, and the latter intimates that the queen had then forbidden the use of the rack against Catholics. How inconsistent this is with the truth will appear by the following extracts from the minutes of the sufferings of Catholics in the Tower between the years 1580 and 1585, by one of the sufferers. "A. D. 1583. Nov. 7.—Franciscus Throgmortonus præclarissimarum dotum juvenis et Joannis Throgmortoni, Equitis Aurati-primogenitus, accusatus quod pro regina Scotorum nonnulla tractasset, comprehenditur, et primo die in Littleasio (*Little-ease*, a dungeon so called from its properties) custodiebatur."—"Nov. 17. Georgius Throgmortonus, prædicti Domini frater, comprehenditur."—"Nov. 23. D. Franciscus Throgmortonus equuleo gravissime torquetur, et eodem die in lacum dimittitur."—"Dec. 2. D. Fr. Throgmortonus iterum equuleo subicitur bis in eodem die."—"A. D. 1584. D. Franciscus Throgmortonus nobilis laicus morte afficitur; eodem ipso die sparso contra illum per hereticos ignominioso libello." *Diarium Rerum Gest in Turri Londin.* What credit is due to the confessions of Catholics extorted at this time in the Tower, may be gathered from a letter of a celebrated apostate priest, John Nichols to cardinal Allen, dated Feb. 19, 1583, who having written a book against the Catholics, and otherwise wrongfully charged them of different crimes, excuses himself as follows: "Mr. Allen, whatever I have written against the Pope, cardinals, and bishops, I have written through ambition. God is my witness that I never should have written at all, if the governor of the Tower had not forced me to do so. I have writted and done many things which I refused to write and to do, until the governor threatened me with the severest torture of the rack, the idea of which made my frail flesh tremble..... I could hear nothing else in the prison but such language as this: *do so, and so, or else the keepers shall take you to the torture* :
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nation, when he was persuaded to this upon the hopes of pardon. In conclusion, he died protesting his innocence of the crime for which he suffered. To be brief, his innocence or guilt rests entirely upon the question whether the lists above mentioned were his genuine property, or had been foisted into his other papers by the powerful enemies of his family and religion in the ministry; which question must be determined by the character of the respective parties for truth, fair dealing, and integrity. His character had ever been unimpeached; whereas theirs was infamous

(I had rather they had said to the gallows). Alas, sir, it is no trifling thing for the body to be stretched upon the rack until it is nearly two feet longer than nature made it. The fear and horror of their tortures, which they described to me, quite overcame me. I therefore wrote down whatever names the governor or his servant ordered me: amongst others I put down those of sir George Peccam and judge Southcot, as being papists, and many others quite unknown to me. Sir Owen Hop-ton, the governor, obliged me with his threats to make my confession just as he pleased, and when I had written the names of any papists (many of which I had never heard before) he required me to accuse them of being partizans of the Pope and the queen of Scots, and professed enemies of the queen and council. *Do thus, he would say, and the queen will promote you and I will be your friend: but if you refuse you shall be severely punished....* From these particulars you may judge of the rest." See the whole letter in the original latin, Dodd, vol. ii, p. 308, also in the book de Schism. Ang. p. 328. This John Nichols. upon his apostacy, was much cried up for his learning, and having obtained some promotion, was appointed to preach a controversial sermon in the chapel of the tower every Sunday, to which the Catholic prisoners were dragged by main force for near half a year together. Being touched with remorse of conscience, he wrote the above letter, and afterwards fled into Germany, but never reconciled himself to the Catholic church. Another of these converts to the rack about the same time, Anthony Tyrrel, a priest from Rome, having falsely accused cardinal Allen, Pope Gregory XIII, and other Catholics of many crimes, and being ordered to publish the same in a recantation sermon in St. Paul's cathedral, instead of doing so, exclaimed from the pulpit that he was a false wretch and a betrayer of innocent persons. De Schism. ut supra. See his two interesting letters to Elizabeth, in Stype's Annals, vol. iii.]

for every species of fraud and oppression, but particularly forging counterfeit letters, and conveying such instruments of destruction into the possession of Catholics. These practices were so common and notorious, particularly at the time when this unfortunate gentleman suffered, that the contemporary historians acknowledge their existence without blushing, and even praise the ministry for having recourse to them.* It is plain that the Catholics thought Throckmorton had been unjustly dealt with, by their complaints on the occasion, and by the number and quality of those amongst them who on that occasion withdrew themselves abroad ;† and it does not seem that sensible and impartial Protestants were better persuaded of his guilt.‡

[* Camden, Speed, &c.]

[† Lord Paget, Charles Arundell, several of the Howards, &c. The virtuous and loyal earl of Arundell was taken in attempting to escape. See his dutiful letter to Elizabeth in Dodd, vol. ii. Sir Francis Englefield, a privy counsellor, had been abroad some time, where he died and was buried in the college of Valladolid, greatly revered for his piety and other virtues.]

[* We may judge of the opinion which the learned Dugdale entertained of the accusation on which he suffered from the manner in which he mentions it: "Sir John Throgmorton had issue Francis, attained in 26 Eliz. for treason lay'd to his charge, as having conspired, *God knows what*, in behalf of the queen of Scots." Antiq. Warwic. p. 561. A later writer reasons upon this affair in the following judicious manner: "His (Throgmorton's) case was so clamorous that the government published it in their own light, under the title of *An account of Throgmorton's treasons*. Notwithstanding the vast art with which this piece is drawn up, it will be very difficult for any gentleman of the law to discover upon what evidence Throgmorton was convicted, if he takes from the queen's council the advantage of his own confession when upon the rack. Great stress is indeed laid upon the casket which he had conveyed to the Spanish ambassador. But it appears from no circumstance of the trial, that the casket was produced, or that any thing under his hand was discovered in it, or so much as that it was proved ever to have been in his custody. But if it had, the conveying of it to the ambassador was no proof of treason, unless it had been proved, which was not attempted, that it contained treasonable papers when so conveyed. Even the two last were not proved to be his hand writing except by his ex-

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** Camden. Ann. 1565.

†† Ibid, Strype, vol. iii, p. 255.

service of a foreign spy* to Walsingham and Burghley, from the latter of whom he also obtained a pension. This happened in 1580, during which, and the three following years, we have proofs that he executed his commission to the satisfaction of his employers, by his letters to Burghley from Paris, Lyons, Venice, and other places. In these he communicates intelligence concerning Catholics, both natives and foreigners, and boasts of the mischiefs he had done them, particularly in "shaking the seminary at Rheims, and overthrowing the Pensioners at Rome, by courses strange and extraordinary."† He did not fail, however, to solicit for more ample supplies of money, by means of which he promised to do still greater things. The more effectually to impose upon Catholics, he twice went through the ceremony of abjuring Protestantism, and of being solemnly received into the Catholic communion, namely, at Paris and at Milan.‡ His grand object was to get access to persons of distinction and note amongst them. Some of those to whom he addressed himself, and particularly the experienced F. Parsons, kept him at a distance, suspecting him to be what he really was, a spy to the English ministry.§ With others he succeeded in forming more or less of an acquaintance, either in person or by letter. Amongst the persons of note to whom he got recommended, was Cardinal Cosmo, the Pope's minister at Rome, who being assured that Parry had it both in his power and his disposition to render great service to the afflict-

* "This man (W. Parry) had earnestly requested of Burghley to travel abroad to do the queen service, as a spy and private intelligencer in the Popish countries." Strype's Annals, vol. ii, p. 593.

† Strype, vol. ii, pp. 648, 649, vol. iii, pp. 79, 80, 188, 255, 526, &c.

‡ See his last speech, Strype, vol. iii, p. 250. His being reconciled twice over independently of other arguments proves him to have been a hypocrite and impostor.

§ Patinson, Image of Ch. p. 513.

ed Catholics in England,* wrote him a letter of compliments, the sum of which is that the Pontiff applauds his zeal, exhorts him to persevere, and gives him his apostolical blessing in the usual form. There is not a word in the letter that so much as glances at the horrid crime of assassinating Elizabeth.† It is true, according to his account, after he returned to England he had sounded some persons abroad concerning it, amongst whom he affirmed that Creighton the Jesuit, and Watts the secular priests, absolutely condemned the project, and that only Thomas Morgan, an agent to the queen of Scots at Paris, and Edmund Nevil, kinsman to Cecil, approved it.‡ In 1583 he returned to England, and gave an account of his proceedings to the queen in person, and also to her ministers, who were so well satisfied with his conduct, that they consented or rather concurred to his getting a seat in parliament.— In this situation he continued to act the same hypocritical part he had performed abroad, patronizing the Catholics in public in order to blind them, and communicating with them in private in order to betray them, to his patrons in the government. He over-acted his part so much on the occasion of a new penal law that passed against priests and Jesuits, in the beginning of the year 1583, exclaiming against the proposers of it in the most violent terms, that he was taken into custody, most probably by order of the speaker of the commons, and being called upon to explain his conduct, he refused to give any account of it except to the queen's council.§ In fact, they were in the secret of his behaviour, and accordingly they ordered him to be discharged. In conclusion, growing sullen and mutinous, at being first refused the mastership of St. Catherine's, and afterwards a pension, for both

* He got a letter conveyed to Cosmo by Raggazoni, the Pope's nuncio at Paris, in which he acknowledges that he had done the Catholics much mischief, but said he was returning to England to repair it. Patinson, p. 516.

† See a translation of the letter, Strype, vol. iii, p. 249.

‡ Camd. Annal Strype, vol. iii. Append. n. 46. Patinson.

§ Camd.

which he solicited, and having a quarrel about the same time with his former acquaintance, Nevil, now become lord Latimer (each one accusing the other of treason, and the question being which of them was the dupe and which the impostor) he was abandoned by his old masters, Burghley and Walsingham, and left to the severity of the law : on which occasion he exclaimed, that he had been the author of his own fate by the inconsistency of his conduct.* If, in any circumstances, a false hypocritical wretch of this description is to be believed, it is upon the scaffold, when his wiles being exhausted, he finds himself on the point of suffering the consequences of his villainy, Accordingly in this situation, Parry made the most solemn declarations of his being, and ever having been, the most faithful servant of Elizabeth, pleading the goodness of his intention towards her in all that he had done, but acknowledging his fault in having made the recantation above-mentioned, of the Protestant religion ; which alone proves that he never was a Catholic.† Being charged by the pursuivant, Topcliff, with Cardinal Cosmo's letter, as a proof that he intended to murder Elizabeth at the suggestion of the Pope, he replied, " O ! Mr. Topcliff, you clean mistake it : I deny such matter to be in the letter."‡

* " Mihi moriendum video quia mihi ipsi minime constiterim." Camd.

† Camd. Strype, vol. iii, p. 250.

‡ Ibid.—Dr. S. by his note on this matter, and what he says of Pope Gregory XIII elsewhere, is very desirous of making the latter pass for a man of blood, and the intentional assassin of Elizabeth. How much my opponent wrongs the memory of this virtuous Pontiff, appears by a letter which Anthony Tyrrell, a priest from Rome, then confined in prison, addressed to the queen by way of recanting certain falsehoods, which the fear of torments had extorted from him. He says " As to Pope Gregory, I protest, as I hope to be saved, I never heard him speak any thing for your prejudice. But I have seen him shed tears for your Majesty, and he has by his own mouth commanded us to pray for you, and not to intermeddle with any thing but what directly concerned our profession." Strype, Anal. vol. iii, Append. p. 158.

You now lead us to the completion at once of the triumph and of the infamy of Elizabeth and her ministry, namely, Babington's plot, "to which," you say, "Mary acceded, and for which she suffered." The fact is, this plot was contrived and carried on by that ministry, whose tools, Babington and his associates were, for the express purpose of Mary's destruction. It has been proved that each one of those great trials and calamities, with which this most amiable and innocent princess had been previously afflicted, was either directly caused, or efficaciously promoted by her envious and unprincipled rival, Elizabeth, and the latter's still more remorseless ministry. These were the numerous seditions and rebellions against her in Scotland, the assassination of her faithful secretary, Rizzio, before her face, that horrid murder of her husband, king Henry Darnley, with his servants, and lastly the infamous charge of having caused that murder, which the perpetrators of it endeavoured, by the help of daring forgeries, but mostly by the artifices of Elizabeth and Cecil, to throw off themselves upon her.* Having, at length, taken refuge in this country, at the pressing invitation of its sovereign, from the blood-thirsty fury and fanaticism of her own rebellious subjects, instead of an hospitable reception, she met with a prison, in which she was detained a captive for the remaining nineteen years of her life, subject to constant vexations, insults and persecutions, and denied, even till her last moments, the private exercise of her religion.† So early as the year 1572, that is to say, within the fourth year of her captivity, the English ministry was resolved to bring her to a public execution.‡ and the articles of her impeachment were actually drawn up.§ But the haughty

* See these several points proved by Whitaker, in his *Vindication of Mary*.

† Camden, *Ann.* 1587.

‡ See letters to this effect of the said date from Burghley, Leicester, and Walsingham. *Strype's Annals*, vol. ii, b. i, c. 15.

§ *Ibid*

Elizabeth, who dreaded the degradation of royalty, even in the person of an enemy, put a stop to the proceedings. Upon this, the chief plotter, Cecil, made an offer of delivering up the royal victim into the hands of her rebellious subjects, *upon security being given that she should be put to death*,* and the intention then was that she should be tried and executed on a charge of that very murder which they themselves, with Elizabeth's and Cecil's concurrence, had actually committed. What petitions were not procured, what associations were not formed, what acts of assassination were not attempted against the life of this unfortunate queen, merely because she was a Catholic, and the heir apparent of the crown!† It is now demonstrated that each one of that ministerial junto, described above, at different times, used means

* See Cecil's letter to Killigrew. Murdin's State Papers, p. 225.

† "Leicestrius, qui credebatur de pervertenda legitima successione moliri, sicarios submitit ut perhibent nonnulli, qui illam de medio tollerent. Drurius autem recti honestique cultor scelus ex animo perosus, omni assensu prohibuit." Camd. An. 1584.—In 1586, previously to any trial of Mary, Leicester proposed his usual expedient to get rid of her, namely, "poison, and he sent a divine to convince Walsingham that this was lawful." Camd. The truth however is, there was no need of the casuistry of divines to persuade that unprincipled man, whose *conscience was seared with a hot iron*, that any thing was lawful which he judged profitable. In fact, Mary charged him upon her trial, with having "practised, as she had heard, both against her own life and that of her son." Camd. We have his letter, subscribed also by his fellow secretary of state Davidson, to Mary's keeper, sir Amias Paulet, urging him *to take the burden of shedding blood off Elizabeth*, and to find *some way to shorten the life of her rival*. He even makes use of motives of religion and conscience, to induce Paulet to comply. See the letter in Whitaker's Vindic vol. iii, p. 550. But the principal contriver and actor in this bloody scene, was the hoary hypocrite, Cecil lord Burghley, as Whitaker proves, *ibid*, p. 563; though it seems to have escaped him, and other late writers, that Cecil was afterwards on this account driven from Elizabeth's presence, and treated with the same feigned resentment by Elizabeth, as Davidson himself was. See Cecil's Letters to the Queen, in Strype's Annals. vol. iii, b. ii, c. i.

to get her privately murdered, and that Elizabeth herself promoted and urged the execution of the bloody project,* which would certainly have taken

* "Porro Powlettum et Drurium culpavit (Elizabetha) quod eam hac cura non liberassent, et optavit ut Walsinghamus eorum animos hac de re tentaret." Camd. Ann. 1587. See Davidson's apology, from which the above passage is taken, more at length in Whitaker, vol. iii, Append. n. 16, with the sagacious writer's comments upon it. Amongst the records of this important transaction, which have been so industriously sought out by late writers, I am surprised that a singular letter from Elizabeth herself to sir Amyas Paulet concerning it, being the master-piece of that queen's characteristical hypocrisy and cruelty, should have escaped most of them. Strype, vol. iii, p. 361, from MSS. Cecil. It will remind the readers of Shakespeare of the scene between king John and Hubert, when the tyrant endeavours to work up the assassin to rid him of his nephew Arthur.

"To my faithful Amyas,"

"Amyas my most careful and faithful servant, God reward thee treblefold in the double for thy most troublesome charge so well discharged. If you knew, my Amyas, how kindly besides dutifully my grateful heart accepteth your double labours and faithful actions, your wise orders and safe conduct, performed in so dangerous and crafty a charge, it would ease your troubles and rejoice your heart. And (which I charge you to carry this most just thought) that I cannot balance in any weight of my Judgment, the value I prize you at; and I suppose no treasure to countervail such faith: and condemn myself in that fault which I have committed if I reward not such deserts.—Yea let me lack when I have most need, if I acknowledge not such merit, with a reward *non omnibus datum*.

But let your wicked mistress know how with hearty sorrow her vile deserts compel those orders; and bid her from me ask God forgiveness for her treacherous dealings to the saver of her life many years to the intolerable peril of her own. And yet not content with so many forgivenesses must fall again so horribly, far passing a woman much more a princess. Instead of excusing whereof, not one can serve, it being so plainly confessed by the actors of my guiltless death. Let repentance take place, and let not the fiend possess so as her best part be lost. Which I pray with hands lifted up to him that may both save and spill. With my loving adieu and prayer for thy long life.

Your assured and loving sovereign in heart,

by good desert induced,

ELIZABETH REGINA."

place, had not Mary's keepers felt some sparks of conscience within them, or rather had they not foreseen that the very persons who urged them to commit this murder would, after it had been perpetrated, have consigned them to the whole infamy of it, and to the severest punishment the laws could inflict.* At length it having been resolved upon, that recourse should be had to legal execution, an express act of

The unusual style of flattery which prevails throughout the former part of this letter, we see, is admirably calculated to work up Paulet's vanity and expectations to the highest pitch possible; after which his whole vengeance is directed against his prisoner, Mary, as the intentional murderer of his benefactress and friend, Elizabeth. He is left to execute this in any manner that he himself may devise, provided he exhort his destined victim to repentance, so that *her better part* (her soul) *may not be lost*.—In the end, these delicate hints, and afterwards other downright directions, both to Paulet and Drury, proving ineffectual, Elizabeth called them, "*nice and precise fellows, who in words would do great things for her safety, but in deed perform nothing*." She concluded the the work should be done without them, and said, that Wingfield, with some others, would undertake it." Davidson's Apol. See Whit. vol. iii, p. 556.

* See Paulet's answer to Walsingham, in which he excuses himself from "doing an act which God and the law forbideth." Ibid. Upon Elizabeth's urging that her rival should be privately taken off by her keepers Paulet and Drury, secretary Davidson "told her that it was a marvellous extremity she would have exposed those gentlemen unto. For if they should have done that she desired, she must either allow their act or disallow it. If she allowed it, she took the matter upon herself, with an infinite dishonour. If she disallowed it, she overthrew those faithful gentlemen." Apol. ut supra.—We can have no doubt what Elizabeth would have done in this case.—For if she made such loud and confident protestations, throughout Europe, of her innocence of Mary's death, when the latter was executed by a warrant signed with her own hand, and if she punished Davidson so severely for obeying her repeated orders to that effect, we can have no doubt but she would have exclaimed and lamented with tenfold violence, and have made Paulet and Drury die the most cruel death of murderers, if they had put their royal prisoner to death illegally, and without her warrant, however desirous she was of their doing it.

Parliament was procured for the destruction of this poor victim, in which the objection that had hitherto stood in the way of ministry, namely, that she was not an English subject, was obviated. All then that now remained to be done was to engage some rash young men of the Scottish, or the Catholic party, in a conspiracy to set Mary at liberty, with some circumstances of intended violence against the person of Elizabeth or the peace of the realm, and then to procure evidence real or forged of Mary's being implicated in it; and this work, Walsingham, with the help of his band of spies, hypocrites, and forgers, was not long in finding the means to accomplish.

We are not to be surprized if the account that has reached us of this dark and complicated conspiracy should be imperfect and confused, as all the evidence relating to it has passed through the hands of a party concerned in it, which is proved to have been guilty of the most shameful frauds and forgeries on the occasion. Hence no writer yet has been able to furnish a consistent or plausible history of this conspiracy.—Camden, who, on every account, is entitled to most credit, is nevertheless proved to have made many mistakes, and to confound the order of events. Thus much is clearly ascertained, that the aforesaid secretary of state acted the principal part in the beginning, in the progress, and in the conclusion of the bloody tragedy. Giffard,* who is mentiond as being active

* This was not Dr. William Gifford, a superior in the seminary of Rheims, who was afterwards archbishop of Rheims, as Echard supposes, nor was he a priest at all, as Hume and even Camden relate, but a degenerate young man, by name Gilbert Giffard, of the Chillington family, whose father was at that time a prisoner for his religion in London. Going over to Paris in 1585, he completely deceived Mary's agent there, Morgan who recommended him to her as a person capable of rendering her great service by the opportunity he possessed of conveying her letters, [and it is now evident from facts that he was sent thither by Walsingham for the particular purpose of recommending himself to that employment, in consequence of his having different relations who resided in the neighbourhood of Chartley, where Mary was confined.] See Morgan's Let-

in corrupting Savage, the principal assassin, and who was afterwards employed in attempting to ensnare the poor captive Mary herself, was the chief agent of Walsingham * "The vile impostor Maud, who took the priest Ballard with him abroad," in order to get the English emigrants and some foreign power to take part in the plot, was the hired emissary of Walsingham;† and that "master of deception, Polley," who, by his affected zeal for the service of Mary,‡ drove the rash youths with whom he associated into greater excesses than they would otherwise have thought of, "had every day access to this minister, in order to give him an account of what was going forward."§ Even Babington himself was, for some days previously to the disclosure of the plot, entertained by Walsingham at his house as a guest, and proposals passed between them of his enlisting in the secretary's service as a spy upon the Catholic emi-

ter to Mary in Murdin's State Papers, p. 454. This Gilbert Giffard afterwards went abroad, where being cast into prison for the wickedness of his life, he died in great misery. Camden.

* Camden.

† "Ballardus sacerdos in Galliam comitatus Maudo Walsinghami emissario vaferrimo, qui illi imprudenti fucum fecerat, redit." Hume transforms Maud into a priest, and writes of him as follows: "That artful minister (Walsingham) had engaged Maud, a Catholic priest, whom he retained in his pay, to attend Ballard in his journey to France." To judge of this historian's accuracy, I request; that the sentence just quoted, may be compared with Camden's original given above. Is it that Hume did not understand Latin, or that being indifferent as to the truth of history, he was only anxious to weave a plausible narration?

‡ It appears from another letter of Morgan's to Mary, dated July 20, 1585, that Polley had been abroad, and had imposed upon him no less than Maud did, and had even procured money through his means. Murdin, p. 446, &c.

§ "In societatem (conjuratorum) se insinuavit Pollius in reginæ Scotorum negotiis apprime instructus, simulandi et dissimulandi peritissimus, qui omnia eorum consilia Walsinghamo indies aperuisse et juvenes in mala pronos *pejora suggerendo*, præcipites impulsisse creditur. Camd.

T

grants.* In the mean time the secretary himself was busily employed with his clerks, Thomas Philips and Arthur Gregory, who were trained to such arts, in writing forged letters with the name and private cypher of Mary and those of her friends, and in inserting forged postscripts in their genuine letters, which letters they found means to intercept for the double purpose of increasing the guilt and number of the conspirators.† He even procured a picture of the assembled conspirators, with a suitable motto beneath it, to be made, which he shewed to Elizabeth, at once to recommend his own diligence in detecting the plot, and to work her up to a proper degree of fury against the unfortunate Mary, in whose behalf it was carrying on.‡ He wished to spin out the affair to a still

* Camd.

† Camd.

‡ That a picture of Babington, surrounded by his fellow conspirators, was painted from the life and shewn by Walsingham to the queen, (who said that she knew the faces of none of them, except that of Barnwell) I fully believe on the credit of Camden; but I cannot admit his supposition, which has passed current with all subsequent writers, that this picture was executed by order of Babington himself, and that every one of the 15 persons concerned consented to put his life into the hands of a common painter, and of the many other persons who might chance to see it, merely to gratify a momentary vanity. For we are to observe, that the figures were portraits shewn to the queen, to see if she could recognize the features of any of them.—On the other hand, we know that Walsingham was accustomed to procure portraits of those whom he wished to ensnare, and it was an easy matter for him, being possessed of those of the conspirators, to get them put together into one picture. I have shewn above what useful purposes this picture was calculated to answer for his ends. [It is to be farther observed, that no account is given of the means by which ministry got possession of this important picture. Certainly if it had been seized upon in the possession of Babington or any of his friends, the conspirators would have been alarmed for the discovery of the plot, and would have consulted their safety by flight, contrary to what we know to have been the case. Another circumstance is worth remarking. Camden tells us that underneath the picture the following verse was at first painted, viz. *Hi mihi sunt socii quos ipsa pericula ducunt*, but that being thought too descriptive of the intended mischief, it was after-

greater length, as the number of the conspirators whom he had entangled in his poisonous web was yet exceedingly small, but the queen herself required him to make an end of it;* on which occasion it proved an easy matter for him to seize upon the 14 unfortunate dupes of his villainy, and not a more difficult one to get them condemned and executed with circumstances of peculiar barbarity. They died acknowledging and deploring their guilt, particularly the six who had been acquainted with and engaged in the scheme of assassination.† This circumstance alone suffices to acquit these men's religion of the guilt which you and other writers endeavour to fix upon it in consequence of their crime.

But the grand catastrophe was not yet unfolded ; a more noble prey was wanting to grace the savage triumph of Walsingham and his colleagues ; in short, the queen of Scots was indicted upon the late act, which indeed had been made for the express purpose, it now served, as a party to the conspiracy for murdering the

wards changed for the follong sentence : *Quorsum hac alio properantibus ?* Now I leave it to every intelligent reader to judge, whether it was possible for any men in their senses to publish a plot of this consequence to their lives no less than to their designs, in the manner that is here supposed, and whether the whole transaction does not smell much stronger of the contrivance of Walsingham than of Babington. Should any person still be found so dull or so obstinate as to persist in the vulgar opinion, which ascribes the painting of this picture to the vanity of the conspirators, let him explain to me why the painter of it was never called to any account concerning it. In the received supposition he must have been guilty at least of misprision of treason. I have dwelt longer on the circumstance of this pictorial fraud that the reader may see how far the plot was under the guidance of Elizabeth's ministry and how much former writers have been misled in their account of it.]

* Camden.

† Ibid. [In this particular their behaviour was very different from that of William Thomas, a Protestant of the former reign, and once clerk of the council, who being executed for an attempt to assassinate queen Mary, could not be brought to acknowledge his guilt, but boasted that he died for his country. See Wood's Athen. Oxon.]

English queen. Never did a prisoner at the bar labour under greater disadvantages than Mary did on this occasion. She had to contend with forty five of the ablest men* that their age and country could produce, amongst whom were her sworn enemies, Leicester, Burghley, and Walsingham. She had neither advocate to plead for her, nor counsellor to advise her.† She was even deprived of the use of her papers, all which were in the custody of her enemies. Besides this, she had to fight against the irresistible engine of forgery, which was now a second time employed against her, as it had been before in her examination, concerning the death of her husband, Darnley.‡ But what was the most cruel circumstance of all, her own secretaries proved unfaithful to her, and charged her, behind her back, with having dictated certain letters concerning the assassination, which they themselves had written without her privity. The fact is, they were now prisoners in the hands of men who knew full well how to employ the motives both of hope and terror, in order to bend them to their views ;§ and in-

* So many names of persons appear in the commission for trying her.

† “*Consiliariis sum destituta ; chartæ et notulæ sunt ablatae nullus est qui patronum mihi se præbere audeat.*” Camd.—Even the unfortunate Louis XVI and Antoinette, in the midst of Jacobinical daggers and guillotines, were allowed to have, and actually found, faithful and able official defenders, before they met with that fate, to which Mary, amongst sovereigns, led them the way.

[‡ It was on this occasion that the pretended love-letters of Mary to Bothwell were forged by Lethington, Buchanan, &c. which have been considered near two centuries as proofs of her guilt in the murder of her husband, until the fraud was detected of late and demonstrated by Goodall, Stuart, Tytler, and Whitaker.]

§ Camden says, it is proved by letters, that when Mary's secretary Curl demanded his promised reward of Walsingham, the latter reminded him of the special pardon which he had received, thereby intimating that it was enough for him to have escaped with his life. Hence this author concludes his account of Mary with this sentence : “*Amanuensium absentium, qui pretio corrupti videbantur, testimoniis oppressa.*” [It is to be

deed they had no other means of saving their lives, but by pleading that what they had written was written by order of their mistress. Nevertheless the conscious rectitude and native powers of Mary's mind supported her under all these difficulties, and enabled her to make a defence which still stands an invincible monument of her innocence and characteristic virtues.* On this occasion she defied her accusers to produce a single line of her own genuine hand-writing, or a single living witness, to prove her to have been privy to the crimes of which she stood accused. She said, that letters might have been written in her name and cypher, either by one of her honourable judges there present (Walsingham,) who was a practitioner in such arts,† or by her secretaries, who frequently took the liberty of writing in her name what she had never dictated ; that it was very possible for Babington and his companions to suppose the letters they had received to come from her, and still more likely that, when apprehended, the fear of torments and death might make them pretend they had acted by her orders. In a word, she said, that if her enemies intended to make use of their evidence against her, they ought to have confronted them with her.‡ She acknowledged that she had, at different times, sought to regain the liberty of which she had been near twenty years deprived,

observed that Mary never could get sight of the pretended, love-letters, attributed to her at the aforesaid examination, though she loudly demanded to see them.]

* Camden. See also Causin's Holy Court.

† "Facile esse aliorum characteres et cyphas ementiri; vereri etiam ne hoc in suum caput jam factum per Walsinghamum." Camden.

[‡ Even Rapin expresses his "surprise that Babington and his associates should be executed before Mary's trial, since their testimony was used against her." He adds: "Hitherto the whole evidence consists in Babington's confession that he had received letters from her, but as he was dead it could not be proved that these were the same letters that were read, which too were only copies of letters decyphered." Hist. vol. ii, b. 17.]

contrary to all the laws of hospitality and justice, and had wished to procure relief for the poor persecuted Catholics ; but she protested, that however earnestly she desired these things, she would not procure them by the death of the meanest wretch upon earth, much less by that of her cousin Elizabeth ; adding emphatically, that *she loved her own soul too well to defile it with such a crime* ;* In short, that she had chosen Hester for her model and not Judith. She referred to her papers, then in the possession of her accusers, for proofs that she was averse to any service being rendered her by crimes or violence of any sort ; and in particular, she said, it would appear from them that her partisans had begged her pardon for not informing her, when they meditated any thing of that nature, knowing that she would not consent to it.†— With respect to her secretaries (whose testimony is universally allowed to be the hinge on which the whole evidence against her turned)‡ she proved they were not competent witnesses against her for many reasons, especially, because they were sworn to keep her secrets, and therefore, persons who by the very attempt to criminate her, would prove themselves perjured wretches, undeserving of credit. She alleged that they very often had written in her name without her authority ; and finally, she required, that, if they were still living, they might be confronted with her, saying, they would not dare to charge her to her face with being privy to

* “ *Animæ naufragium conjurando in perniciem charissimæ sororis nunquam fecerim.*” Camden.

[† They had another motive for concealing matters of that sort from her, namely, a regard for her safety. It appears by one of Morgan’s letters to her (which however fell into the hands of Cecil instead of her’s) that he took particular pains to prevent Ballard from having any communication whatsoever with her, whilst he “ followed the affair that he and others had in hand,” the nature of which he no otherwise explains or mentions to her than as one that “ tends to do good to her. *Murdin’s State Papers*, p. 527.]

‡ “ *Sententia ex amanuensium fide tota pendit.*” Camden. *Hume* makes the same concession.

the intended assassination.* The refusal of a prosecutor in any trial to accept of such a challenge from a defendant, would alone suffice to overturn his charge in the minds of every equitable jury now-a-days, and to draw from them a verdict of *not guilty* in favour of the most ill-famed wretch who could be brought before them. In short, it is impossible to conceive that Elizabeth's ministers would have neglected to bring Nau and Curl to support their testimony openly in the presence of their mistress, even though she herself had not required it, had they not been conscious that these poor intimidated and bribed secretaries could never stand her examination without overwhelming themselves and their seducers with utter confusion. In the end, she was officially informed by lord Buckhurst, and the clerk of the council Beal, that she was condemned to die, and "that public security required she should suffer, in as much as the established religion was thought not to be secure *whilst she was in being.*"† the same cause was still more clearly expressed by Henry Grey, earl of Kent, who was appointed to superintend her execution: "your life," said he, "will be the death of our religion, and your death will be the life of it." Upon this, turning to Burgoing, her physician, she exclaimed, "how great is the force of truth; I am condemned under the pretence of having conspired against the queen's life, whereas the earl of Kent has now confessed that I am to suffer for the security of their religion."‡ I need not say any thing of her behaviour at her death, except to remark, that it is not thus conscious murderers die. The circumstances of it, even as described by enemies, exhibit the meek fortitude of a christian heroine, and the edifying charity and piety of

* "*Certe scio quod si (amanuenses) adessent me extra omnem culpam causamque ponerent.*" Camden. This author remarks, that by a statute of the reigning queen it was required that all witnesses should be confronted with the accused.

† Camden.

‡ Camden.

a martyr.* If from Mary's dying scene we turn to that of Elizabeth, where all was sullen and melancholy, deep remorse, and fixed despondency,† we shall have no difficulty in determining, without further proof, which of these rival queens laboured under the real guilt of murder. I think, Sir, you have not consulted the interest of your cause in introducing the Catholic

* Hume, Echard, &c.

† Collier, speaking of Elizabeth's death says, "Without pronouncing on the cause, it is certain her last scene was dark and disconsolate." One of her courtiers, Robert Cary, earl of Monmouth, in the Memoirs of his own Life, cited by Whitaker, Vindic. vol. i, p. 46, gives some particulars of this scene. He says, that he found the queen, in her last sickness, "*seated upon cushions*," where she persisted in remaining on the ground, "four days and nights at least;" that he "used the best words he could to persuade her from this melancholy, but that it was too deeply rooted in her heart to be removed;" that in her discourse with him "she fetched not so few as 40 or 50 great sighs," whereas he had "never known her fetch a sigh before, except when the queen of Scots was beheaded," that "she refused all sustenance, or to go to bed, and that she grew worse and worse because she would be so.....and refused all remedies." Camden adds, that she called herself "a miserable forlorn woman;" and exclaimed, "they have put a yoke about my neck: I have none to trust in: my condition is strangely changed." The account of Parsons (in his Discussion of Barlow's Answer) which he received from some of Elizabeth's prime courtiers, agrees in the main with those of the authors above quoted in the principal circumstances which they relate. Nevertheless he adds the following singular particulars, viz.—that the queen told two ladies of the court, that as she lay in her bed, at the beginning of her illness, she thought "she saw her own body lean, fearful, and in a light fire;" which circumstance will account for her obstinate refusal to be put any more to bed; [indeed she said on one occasion, that if her attendants knew what she had seen the last time she was in bed they would not ask her to go thither any more;] that "she cholerickly rated the prelates who came to her, bidding them be packing;" that she seemed to place more confidence in charms and spells, than in prayer to God: that she wore a piece of gold in her ruff, by means of which an old woman in Wales was said to have lived to the age of 100 years; that the card called the queen of hearts was found nailed to the bottom of her chair, &c.

queen as conspiring against the life of the Protestant sovereign, and thereby rendering the present comparison of them necessary.

You charitably spare me the task of unravelling and exposing the ridiculous plots of Squires and the poisoned saddle, and of the Jew physician Lopez; though these are regularly enumerated by other writers who have preceded you in the employment of denouncing the crimes of Catholics, and in justifying the penal laws that were enacted against them in the reign of Elizabeth. Instead of bringing these upon the scene, you present me with a view of the Spanish Armada, and with the alledged fresh excommunication and deposition denounced against the murderer of Mary by the Roman Pontiff.* But how, Sir, did this projected invasion of the kingdom by foreigners criminate the English Catholics, if, so far from co-operating with it, they joined with their fellow-subjects in opposing it to the utmost of their power, as you very candidly admit to have been the case? The truth is, the king of Spain in his manifesto, published the motives which induced him to undertake this war, and they are purely of a political nature, namely, to repel the nume-

* P. 68. Dr. S. speaks with great emphasis of the bull of excommunication and deposition which he supposes to have been issued by Sixtus V, against Elizabeth; and his error is the more excusable as it rests not only on the authority of his usual guide Hume, but also on that of Camden, who says that cardinal Allen was sent into the Low Countries to execute it, though it is certain he never stirred out of Rome after the time of his being honoured with the purple in 1587. The real fact is, no such bull was issued by Sixtus, though I admit one partly to that purport was prepared by him to have been issued in the event of the Spanish invasion proving successful. See Thuanus, lib. 89. Not content with this my antagonist repeatedly asserts that Gregory XIII, excommunicated and deposed the queen, and in the supplementary notes to his 2d edition, p. 172, he ascribes the same acts to Julius III. These blunders, especially the latter, are unpardonable. Gregory XIII, mitigated the bull of Pius V, but certainly did not issue any new one against her, and as to Julius III, he died in the year 1555, three years before Elizabeth came to the throne, at a period when she took pains to pass for a zealous Catholic.]

rous acts of hostility which had been committed by Elizabeth upon his dominions, both in Europe and America, and to avenge the common cause of sovereigns, which had been outraged in the person of the queen of Scots. His general, the duke of Feria, assured the English ambassador, that he neither knew of, nor was concerned about any Pope's bulls against Elizabeth,* but merely acted in obedience to the orders of his sovereign. Not one English Catholic is known to have been concerned in this expedition;† and so jealous was Philip of them, the year following he confined all persons of this description who resided at Lisbon when the English fleet appeared off that coast.‡ In a word, the English Catholics not only petitioned to be placed in the foremost ranks of their country's army against the common enemy, as I related before,§ but even your favourite historian, quoting another of higher authority,** allows that "some of their gentlemen, when they could not obtain commissions in the army and navy, served in them as volunteers: some equipped ships at their own charges, and gave the command of them to Protestants: others were active in animating their tenants, vassals, neigh-

* Camd. Ann. 1588.

† Camden remarks, that he refused to entrust the earl of Westmoreland, Sir Wm. Stanley, or any other English fugitive, with a command in the expedition, though the last mentioned was one of the bravest and ablest generals of his age. [He equally refused to employ a regiment of Englishmen, at that time consisting of 700 men, who had deserted to him, in a body, during that unjust war which Elizabeth carried on in the Low Countries] Echard objects, that above 100 Jesuits and monks were on board the Spanish fleet, under the superintendence of cardinal Allen. The fact is, cardinal Allen was at that time at Rome in a very infirm state of health.—There were, indeed, chaplains in the fleet, a particular account of whom is to be seen in Strype, vol. iii, but not one of them appears to have been an Englishman.

‡ Dodd, Patinson.

§ Hist. vol. i, p. 384.

** Stow's Annals.

bours, to the defence of their country.”* To me, Sir, it appears, that this instance of fidelity and loyalty of a large and powerful body of people to a government that oppressed them, in opposition to every motive of interest and ambition, is the most signal and glorious that history affords. By what logic then do you introduce it in justification of the persecution which then raged against them? In fact, this example demonstrates better than a thousand arguments, that Catholics will not forfeit their allegiance even to promote the religion for which they are ready to shed their blood; and what is no less important, it proves that there is no danger to a Protestant state from the ecclesiastical supremacy acknowledged to reside in the bishop of Rome; because, if, from passion or policy, he should exceed the just bounds of his spiritual authority, and attempt to depose their lawful sovereign, they will not obey him.

But to draw towards a conclusion of the present subject, in proportion as the loyalty of the Catholics was more conspicuous, and the danger to be apprehended from tolerating them (had any danger really existed) was further removed, by the death of Mary and the defeat of the Armada, Elizabeth’s government aggravated its cruelty and oppression upon them.— This was chiefly attributed to the counsels of that wicked Haman, the earl of Leicester, who expressed his wish to “see the streets of London washed with the blood of Papists;” and who, having just before caused a great number of Catholics to be put to death, had made out a list of fresh victims for the sanguinary tribunals of that reign,† when he himself was suddenly summoned away by death, in this same year of the invasion, to a more just and awful tribunal; being supposed to have fallen a sacrifice to his own arts of poisoning, by the contrivance of his countess, whom he was conveying to Kenilworth in order to confine her, and who afterwards married the object of his

* Hume’s History, Eliz. c. v.

† Memoirs Miss. Pr. vol. i, p. 210, *Dé Schism Ang.* l. 4. c. i.

jealousy, Blount.* To have been opposed and persecuted by such a character as Leicester,† was itself a recommendation of any person or cause. Thus far is certain, that in the aforesaid year of the Spanish expedition, 1588, six new gallowses were erected in London, or the places adjoining to it, and thirty-two Catholics, priests, and lay-persons, suffered the death of traitors, for the mere exercise of the religion of their ancestors.‡ To shew more fully the spirit by which the queen's ministers were actuated with respect to the objects of their persecution, it will be sufficient to mention, that when a great number of them, priests as well as lay-gentlemen, having drawn up and signed a most loyal address to Elizabeth, expressive of their firm attachment to her government, and their abhorrence of every disloyal principle and practice attributed to them, and praying for some relaxation of the penal laws, had procured it to be presented to her as she was walking in Greenwich park, by Richard Shelley, Esq. of Mainfield in Sussex, who was one of their number, the only notice taken of this address was, that this gentleman was seized upon and cast into the Marshalsea prison, where he continued until death set him free, for having presumed to offer such a petition to the queen, without the permission of the council.§ The truth is, these men dreaded not the disloyalty, but the loyalty of Catholics, which had it been once recognized, would have deprived them of their pretext for plundering and tormenting them.

In opposition then to all that you and other prejudiced writers have advanced against the behaviour of Catholics during the reign of Elizabeth, I maintain, Sir, that it was eminently loyal and meritorious. I have answered the several objections you have brought

* Resp. ad Edict. p. 18. Strype says that he died at an inn as he was going to Kenilworth, and that there were suspicions of foul play. See also *De Schism Ang.*

† See his character above, from Dr. Heylin, p. 130.

‡ Rishton, *Append. De Schism. Mem. Miss. Pr.* vol. i. Dodd, vol. ii.

§ Patinson's *Image*, &c. p. 496. *Memoirs*, vol. i, p. 170

against them, in such manner as to prove that the transactions to which they refer, reflect much more honour than disgrace upon them. But if all and every one of these charges had been well founded to the utmost extent of your statements, I ask how large a proportion of that body would they effect? Not a thousandth part of the whole. Of course, even in this case, it would have been the height of injustice and cruelty to punish the Catholics at large for the faults of so small a part of them. In a word, Sir, if you continue to screen the intolerance of Elizabeth and her ministry towards the professors of the ancient faith, and persist in asserting, that the latter were plundered, imprisoned, tortured, and executed, not for their religion, but for their civil crimes, and I know not what pretended state necessity; tell me for what cause did Lewis and Kett, and Hammond, and Peterson, and Turwort, with several other Arians and Dissenters, who were burnt, or otherwise put to death in this reign, suffer? It is unworthy the candour which you profess, and sometimes display, either to deny the prevalence of this intolerent and persecuting spirit, or to attempt to justify it on hollow and false pretexts. I repeat it, the conduct of the great body of the Catholics at that period is unrivalled for its fidelity. They saw a princess mount the throne, whose title was invalid by their church law: and whose conduct in their regard they anticipated in idea. without offering the smallest resistance to it. [They were then the majority of the nation, as I have before shewn, p. 208. Almost all the ancient nobility were of their communion, and the ministry, as it was left by Mary, were all zealous Catholics. Nothing then would have been so easy for them as to have excluded Elizabeth from the succession, if they had copied the example which the Protestants set them at the death of Edward VI. Nevertheless they concurred with firm hands, though with sorrowful hearts, in raising her to the throne, because it was her lawful right.] They saw her begin her reign with violating her coronation oath, by changing the religion of the kingdom, which had been established in it al-

most 1000 years before, and which she had sworn to defend ; and even with enacting the penalty of death against the profession of it.* They experienced pecuniary mulcts and corporal punishments, which were multiplied and aggravated year after year without number or measure,† in order to extirpate them from the land of their nativity ; they found themselves, at every turn, accused and punished for pretended conspiracies ; and what was the most cruel circumstance of all, they perceived innumerable snares and the most scandalous arts of seduction and forgery employed by ministry, to draw as many as possible of their number into real ones. In the mean time they were told by the head of their church that they were no longer obliged to obey : and they beheld the most powerful prince in Europe sending an armament, that passed for *invincible*, to invade the realm, the success of which would at once have placed them above the heads of their persecutors. Yet, in spite of all this, they continued, priests and laity, when at liberty and when in prison, in their hiding places and under the gallows, to acknowledge the title of their unnatural sovereign, to pray for her prosperity, and to condemn all enterprises to secure their lives and the free exercise of their religion, at the expence of the public peace and of the lawful government. We have moreover seen that when the occasion called for such exertions, those who had it in their power to make them, supported

* See the Act of Supremacy, 1 Eliz.

[† See 1 Eliz. c. ii.—4 Eliz. c. i.—13 Eliz. c. ii.—23 Eliz. c. i.—27 Eliz. c. ii.—35 Eliz. c. ii, &c. Dr. S. boasts of the mildness of Elizabeth in the early part of her government, p. 172, 2d ed. and says “her severest law was not passed till the 27th year of her reign,” p. 168. He seems not only to overlook or make light of the deprivation of all the bishops in England, (except Kitchin of Landaff, the calamity of his see, as he is called by Fuller) and of so great a proportion of the other dignified and officiating clergy, and the fines imposed upon the laity for not attending the established service, but also of the capital punishment appointed by divers acts, and executed in a great number of instances previously to the 27th year of Elizabeth.]

the established government, in opposition to their interest and that of their religion, with their purses and their swords. If you turn your eyes from England to the surrounding nations of Europe during the period of this very reign, I ask, in which of them did the professors of the new religion prove the same loyalty to their Catholic sovereigns or magistrates who persecuted or opposed them? Did they not universally in such cases fly to arms, and overturn the governments, when it was in their power to do so? You should have glanced at the conduct of the Annabaptists and the Lutherans in Germany and Sweden, the Huguenots in France, the Gueux in the Netherlands, the Zuinglians in Switzerland, the Presbyterians in Scotland, and the Calvinists at Geneva, before you charged the Catholics of England with disloyalty to queen Elizabeth. But, Sir, I spare you the recital of these histories; and

I have the honour, &c.

POSTSCRIPT TO LETTER VI.

[Dr. S. seems to admit that I have said something "worthy of notice" in the foregoing letter, and accordingly he adds a long note to his second edition, pp. 170, 171, 172, 173, by way of answer to it. He begins with implicitly acknowledging that he has in his first edition been guilty of much inaccuracy in his account of the transactions of Elizabeth's reign; but he adds, "most of the inaccuracies which Mr. M. has remarked, I have corrected," viz. in the late edition. Without enquiring how far this is true, I have to observe that our present controversy is not about certain wrong dates and other mere inaccuracies, but concerning absolute misrepresentations of historical facts and palpable falsehoods, which are brought forward in order to justify one of the most unmerited, cruel, and

long continued persecutions upon record. My adversary alledges, that the facts which he "has mentioned for this purpose are notorious, being related by all historians ; conspiracies, the Spanish war, papal bulls of excommunication, &c. all which attempts, " he says, " were made under the encouragement, sanction, and authority of the Roman see."—In return I have undertaken to shew, by a particular discussion of all and every one of the transactions in question, that he has fallen into the greatest errors both as to the facts themselves, and as to the inferences which he attempts to draw from them. In particular, I have made it appear that not one of those domestic conspiracies, with which he reproaches Catholics, was encouraged, sanctioned, or authorized by the see of Rome ; that some of them were the exclusive work of Protestants ; that another of them, which he most dwells upon, consisted in the intrigues and broils that took place between Elizabeth's ministers and their hired spy ; and that the most important of them all was a deep-laid plot, made up of treachery, forgery, and cruelty, by those unprincipled statesmen, for the destruction of the Catholic heir of the crown, and the extirpation of the Catholics themselves, in order to secure themselves in the possession of their undeserved power and preferments. To these demonstrations Dr. S. coldly replies, that " It was not within the compass of (his) work to enter into a detail of conspiracies." In my opinion, however, no person is entitled to bring charges of any kind against others without being prepared to support them. At all events my adversary must now abandon his pretension of answering the particulars of my work most deserving of notice.—He goes on to say that " It was still less within the compass of (his) work to enter into a detail of the much disputed history of the unfortunate queen of Scots." All that I shall say to this is, if at any future time he should feel himself disposed to take up the broken arms of Hume and Robertson, who were absolutely foiled and fairly driven out of the field in this dispute by Tytler and Gilbert Stuart, I trust he *will find me not worse prepared, nor more backward*

in answering him than in the present controversy. He cannot however quit this matter without observing that Mary's "elevation to the throne and the restoration of the Catholic religion in England were considered as events that must take place together." Hence the reader is left to conclude that all the injustice and cruelty with which that illustrious princess was treated in this country were perfectly justifiable, because they had for their object the exclusion of the ancient faith. But is not this to insinuate that bigoted principle, of the rectitude of doing evil for the benefit of religion, with which Catholics are so often falsely reproached? Dr. S. next speaks of a confederacy of France and Spain in 1565, against Elizabeth and the Protestants, to which he absurdly attributes the projected invasion of 1588; as if the queen on her part, did not enter into various alliances with the Protestant princes of Denmark, Sweden, and Germany, against the Catholics, and as if she were not the avowed protectress of the rebellious sectaries in all the neighbouring Catholic states!—He last of all enters at full length into the subject of the alledged excommunicating and deposing bulls of several Pontiffs, on which I have before proved him guilty of so many and such egregious blunders. But the question still recurs, which I have already put more than once; in what manner were the English Catholics answerable for these foreign attempts, however numerous or destructive they may have been, if instead of seconding them, they unanimously and firmly opposed them? Now that this was actually the case, particularly on the two grand occasions of Pope Pius's bull, and of Philip's invasion, to which I may add that of Northumberland's insurrection, has been invincibly proved. Nay, this is equivalently admitted by my adversary himself, who says, that he "thinks well of the English Catholics, both in the past times and the present:" and yet he maintains that "Elizabeth was justified in using precautions of great rigor against them," from what he calls "political necessity." I must here observe that this *political necessity* is the language and the excuse of all the Machiavellian po-

liticans and cruel tyrants who have ever taught or practised the arts of oppression and destruction from the beginning of the world. Just princes are content to punish those amongst their subjects who are proved to be guilty ; whereas these monsters exterminate the objects of their jealousy for fear they might be guilty. Dr. S. confesses the Catholic subjects of Elizabeth to have been faithful to her in the most trying circumstances, and yet he commends her for rigorously punishing them as if they had been disloyal, merely because foreign princes of their religion opposed her ! And yet he does not scruple to profess himself the very apostle of toleration ! On the other hand, I who have been severely reproached in the course of this controversy with maintaining persecuting principles, have condemned the cruelty of Mary towards her Protestant subjects, notwithstanding they themselves, with all their leading nobles and prelates at their head, once actually deprived her of her throne, and a second time attempted to do the same ; without speaking of individual acts of treason, sedition, and sacrilege, which they were guilty of without number ; and much less without drawing an argument from the conduct of foreign Protestants, who at that very time were attempting to overthrow almost all the Catholic thrones in Europe ! I wish my present opponent and some others of the same description to sound well the depth of their hearts, and to examine whether they are not disguising to themselves, as well as to others, real sentiments of intolerance under fallacious pretences.

Dr. S. winds up his long note with the following weighty but inconsistent charge : " I am much disposed to think well of the English Catholics, but I do not think well of a church, the heads of which have employed their spiritual power in deposing princes and absolving subjects from their allegiance, and I conclude with confidence, that the principles of such a church, when carried to their utmost extent, are pernicious to government and destructive of civil society." The importance of the matter in question to the Catholics, to the government, and to the nation at

large, will, I hope, excuse the freedom which I shall take in discussing it, by comparing the conduct and doctrine of Catholics with those of Protestants, as far as they relate to the present question. I ask them, in how many instances since the Reformation, or during the last 300 years, have Popes attempted to depose sovereigns and to absolve subjects from their oaths of allegiance. My adversary speaks of this as the general practice of the Popes, particularly of Pius V, p. 152. The fact however is, that only two attempts of that nature, to the best of my remembrance, have taken place during the aforesaid long period, one against our Elizabeth, the other against Henry IV, of France, in the time of the League, both which proved fruitless through the opposition of the Catholic subjects of these sovereigns. And yet we are to observe that a great number of princes, in the course of these centuries, have abandoned the Catholic faith, and not a few of them have even taken up arms against the government and person of the reigning Pontiff. I now ask, on the other hand, how many Catholic princes during the space of one hundred years after the Reformation, were deprived by their Protestant subjects of the whole of their dominions, or of such part of them as the latter could deprive them of ! The present occasion does not permit me to enter into particulars, I shall therefore satisfy myself with referring to the histories of Germany, the Low Countries, Sweden, France, England, Scotland, Geneva, &c. during that period. But the circumstance which is chiefly deserving of notice is, that the revolutionary transactions here alluded to, were carried on not only "under the encouragement, sanction, and authority" of the very patriarchs and oracles of the religion, but in most instances by their express orders. Did not Luther issue more bulls than one to absolve the Germans from their obedience to Charles V ? Did not Calvin and Beza require the Huguenots to rebel against their sovereigns ? Did not Knox and the Presbyterian clergy of Scotland in general, with thundering anathemas impel their followers to shake off the dominion of the queen regent, and

afterwards that of the unfortunate Mary? What else were the sermons and writings of Cranmer, Ridley, Jewel, Poyntet, and other fathers of the new religion at home, in the reign of our queen Mary, but so many decrees in favour of rebellion, and so many absolutions from the duty of allegiance? Did not a new set of Protestant doctors, proceeding however upon the fundamental principle of the former, viz. that of private judgment in the interpretation of scripture and in all matters of religion, preach up, on the alledged authority of God's word, the justice and necessity of deposing and murdering their king, the gallant Charles I, and subverting the constitution?—Did not the same doctors, on the same pretended sacred authority, absolve the prisoners of war who were released to them at Brentford from the oaths they had severally taken of not serving again in the republican army? Did not the most famous prelates and divines of the establishment, a few years before, pretend to absolve the said king from his sworn duty to his subjects, and the very law of nature, by deciding that he was at liberty to send his trusty minister, Strafford, to the scaffold, notwithstanding he himself was conscientiously persuaded of his innocence.† But what most calls for consideration; is there not at the present time a numerous, and, in many respects, a powerful sect of religionists lately established called Jerusalemites or Ezekielites, who, from misinterpreting a certain passage of the prophet Ezekiel,‡ fancy themselves called upon to destroy every species of monarchical government as far as it is in their power? I grant that in this, no less than in the preceding instances, the scriptures are abused and perverted; but how will Dr. S. prove this point to the Jerusalemites, when they are prepared to answer him, that they have the same right of interpreting the scriptures which he has, and which

* See lord Clarendon's History of the rebellion.

† Williams, archbishop of York, Usher, primate of Ireland, the bishops Potter and Morton, both famous controversial writers.

‡ See Ezech. xxi, 25, 26, 27.

all the prelates and divines in the world have ! “ I conclude then with confidence,” to make use of my adversary’s words, that no danger whatsoever can arise to the state or to civil society from the principle which he so strongly objects to Catholics, viz. that of the deposing power ; 1st, because it is not and never was considered as an article of faith, but merely as a scholastic opinion ; 2dly, because the Popes themselves have, for many generations past, ceased to act upon it, or even to assert it ; 3dly, because the Catholics themselves have rejected and abjured it upon their most solemn oaths. On the other hand I maintain, with equal confidence, that upon the fundamental principle of the Reformation, namely, the right of each individual to explain the scripture for himself, no creed is fixed, and no government is secure. The church of England indeed has set bounds to that right in her articles, homilies, &c. But of what advantage are these, if her own pastors and dignitaries preach and publish in direct opposition to them ?]



LETTER VII.

SIR,

IF you have been unable to make good your charge of disloyalty against the English Catholics under the last sovereign of the house of the Tudors, you will find still greater difficulty in proving them to have been disloyal to the different princes of the Stuart family. It is true, you will not want pretexts for accusing them ; because the heat of popular prejudice against them continuing rather to increase than diminish during the whole 17th century a succession of conspiracies and other crimes were continually imputed to them. Hence, whatever party prevailed, the penal laws went on increasing in number and severity. and the general cry was kept up for a more rigorous execution of them. Just so we read with respect to the

Pagan persecutions, that under every foreign and domestic misfortune, the people of Rome were accustomed to clamour for the Christians to be devoured by wild beasts.*

It must appear extraordinary to those who have not searched into the causes of this fact, that the Catholic religion, amongst all others, should have been so long the peculiar object of national prejudice and persecution. The Calvinists or Puritans, wherever they prevailed, were sure to overturn both the civil and the ecclesiastical establishments of the country. The Anabaptists, in their native provinces of Germany and Holland, had been guilty of more frantic excesses and horrors, than those which Jacobinical fury has produced at the present day,† the principles of which they still maintain in some degree. The Quakers, at their first rise, were no less frantic and turbulent than the latter,‡ if they were not so sanguinary and violent, and

* "Christianos ad leonem. Tertul. Apolog."

[† Their pretended king of Sion, at Munster, John Bockhold, a tailor by trade, ran stark naked through the streets, married eleven wives at the same time; and besides the aforesaid city where he exercised his tyranny and cruelty, pretended that God had made him a present of Amsterdam and certain other cities which he accordingly sent his disciples to take possession of. For the rebellions, murders, immoralities, and other extravagancies, committed by the anabaptists in Germany, see Sleidan, Comment. l. x. &c. For those perpetrated by them in the Low Countries, see Ger. Brand, Hist. Ref. Belg. &c. Mosheim, Maclaine, &c. The latter shews that the Mennonites or modern Anabaptists have rather disguised than renounced some of the worst principles of their predecessors. With respect to our English Baptists, he asserts that they have nearly degenerated into a system of latitudinarianism. See Mosheim's Ecc. Hist. by Maclaine, vol. iv, c. 3.]

[‡ It was the common practice of George Fox to go into the churches or *steeple houses*, as he called them, and to insult the preachers in their pulpits, calling them deceivers, and bidding them to come down. See Fox's Journal, by his disciple the famous William Penn. It is well known that Nailor, one of his first apostles, entered into Bristol on horseback with his partisans crying round him *Hosanna to the son of David*, in imitation of our Saviour's entry into Jerusalem. The aforesaid Penn tells us that "Wm. Simpson was moved of the Lord to go

they still persist in refusing to join their fellow subjects in many duties essential to the common welfare, particularly in bearing arms against its declared enemies. Yet the hatred and persecutions against these several sects, were at all times comparatively moderate, and at length gradually subsided ; whilst those which were raised against the ancient religion of the country, the religion to which it was indebted for its constitution, for its Christianity, for its very civilization, and from which the established church differs less than from any of the sects mentioned above,* went on, as we have remarked, with increasing force during the whole dynasty of the house of Stuart. It is not necessary to assign all the means by which this effect, so fatal to Catholics, was produced ; it will be sufficient for my present purpose to mention some of them, namely, intrigues and jealousies in the cabinet and the senate, and misrepresentation and calumny from the pulpit and the press.

James I, was not only the son of the Catholic heroine, Mary, as you, Sir, remind me,† and of a Catholic father, king Henry Darnley, but he was also himself baptized in the Catholic church,‡ and retained during his whole life the strongest bias towards its faith and discipline,§ as his puritanical enemies did not fail to object to him. He had corresponded from Scot-

naked in markets, courts, &c. at several times for three years, as a sign to them :” and that “ Richard Huntingdon was moved of the Lord to go in a sheet into Carlisle steeple house to shew that the surplice was coming in,” namely, at the time when Presbyterianism was the established religion. P. 329, &c.]

[* See Barclay’s Apology for the Quakers, where amongst other things he says, “ Protestants differ from Papists but in form and certain ceremonies, having with them apostatized from the life and power of the primitive church. They have only the form of godliness, they are deniers, yea enemies of the power of it.” P. 298, 4th ed.

† P. 80.

‡ Dodd’s Ch. Hist. vol. ii, p. 346.

§ See an account of James’s remarkable conference with the French envoy, the archbishop of Embrun. Echard’s Hist. of Eng. p. 406.

land with the Roman Pontiff,* as also with several English Catholics, clergymen as well as laymen. One of these was the priest Watson, mentioned in my History,† who was a warm partizan of his interest against that of Spain, and to whom, amongst others, he made strong promises of shewing indulgence towards the Catholics of England, whenever he should mount the throne of this country.‡ He declared in open parliament, that he considered the church of Rome as “the mother church, though defiled with some corruptions ;”§ and in his theological writings he went so far as to admit the Pope to be the patriarch of the West,** which implied that he acknowledged some degree at least of ecclesiastical supremacy belonging to him. Such were the genuine sentiments and inclinations of this king, particularly when he first succeeded to the English crown, but on the other hand, we are to remark, that a strong spirit of Puritanism, the most opposite of all others to that of the ancient church, was at this period fermenting throughout the nation. The inflexible severity of Elizabeth had kept it within bounds ; but under the weak government of James, it swelled to such a pitch as soon after to sweep away

* See his letter to Pope Clement VIII, Sept. 24, 1559.—Rushworth’s Collect. vol. i.

† Vol. i, p. 391, &c.

[‡ The secretary of state, Cecil, repeatedly assured the Catholics that the king would fulfil his promises of granting them liberty of conscience. He gave assurances of the same nature to the Spanish ambassador. Politician’s Catech. Dr. Patinson, &c. The subsequent event shews that his intention in thus raising their hopes, was to provoke their indignation when they should find themselves disappointed.]

§ Stow, Echard. [Dr. Benj. Carrier. This last mentioned author had been a favourite chaplain of James I, but becoming a Catholic and retiring abroad, he wrote a letter called *A Misperception*, now in print, to his Majesty, in which he reminds the king of his admitting “the Church of Rome to be the mother church, and the Pope to be the chief bishop or primate of all the western churches.” He also says, that “to his knowledge the king’s disposition was for peace and reconciliation with Rome at the beginning.” Pp. 11. 12.]

** Perron’s Answer.

both the church and the throne. Add to this that there was still a Cecil at the head of the royal counsels ; not indeed the insidious William lord Burghley, the contriver of Babington's plot and of Mary's murder, for he was now no more, but his son Robert, lately created earl of Salisbury, the true inheritor of his father's treachery and cruelty. He had betrayed his late mistress, Elizabeth, in the decline of her age and vigour, to her hated rival, James ; and now in return, he required that James should sacrifice his mother's and his own genuine friends to his hereditary detestation of them

Cecil began his ministry, under the present reign, by playing off that most absurd and incoherent farce, called sir Walter Raleigh's plot,* by means of which he put out of the way one man who was peculiarly obnoxious to him, on account of his being privy to the king's promises in favour of Catholics, the aforesaid priest Watson. He endeavoured to get rid of other persons of higher rank, who were equally odious to him, on different accounts ; but James's conscience interfered and saved them, when they were at the very point of being executed on the Castle-green of Winchester, in the extraordinary manner that I have elsewhere related.† This artful minister was not long without finding the means of wreaking his vengeance upon the whole Catholic body, and (which was his principle object) of dissolving the ties by which the king was united with them. This he accomplished by means of the famous Gunpowder Plot, of which he was either the original author, or at least the main conductor, as his father had been of that by which this king's mother was brought to the scaffold. You tell me, Sir, that "the Catholic writers have called in question the reality of this atrocious design," particularly 'Philips, in his *life of Cardinal Pole*."‡ I have not however met, in the course of my reading, with any Catholic writer that denies the fact, and as to

* See vol. i, p. 390, &c.

† Ibid, p. 395.

‡ P. 81.

Philips, I cannot find that he so much as mentions it. Let us examine this matter at once, with historical impartiality and with Christian candour; not as is usually done by prejudiced or ignorant writers, who follow one another like a flock of sheep without reflection, or like declamatory preachers on the 5th of November, whose object is to inflame their hearers with hatred against the Catholics: after which I shall leave you to pronounce how far the latter were deserving of the aggravated penal laws at that time enacted against them, and how far they continue to merit the abhorrence of their fellow subjects, to which they have been held up for almost two centuries, on account of that meditated villainy.

In the first place, you speak of this diabolical conspiracy as being the act and deed of the Catholics at large, in revenge for the king's disappointing the hopes which they had entertained of his treating them with indulgence.* Accordingly you justify the rigorous treatment which the whole body of them afterwards experienced on this score. Now, Sir, may I be permitted to ask first, how many individuals amongst them all were implicated in the conspiracy? Only 16 persons are so much as accused in the act of attainder that passed on the occasion, of any share of its guilt;† and amongst these it does not appear that more than seven individuals were acquainted with the worst part of it;‡ the rest being only concerned in the scheme of an insurrection,§ or barely knowing it as a consci-

* P. 81.

† 3 Jacob. I, c. 2.

‡ Catesby, Piercy, Fawkes, Thomas Winter, Keys, Bates, and Tresham.

§ Sir Everard Digby, Robert Winter, Grant, Rockwood, John Wright, and Christopher Wright. These six persons appear only to have been acquainted in general that something of importance was going on for their party, in which their services would be wanting. They accordingly agreed to be ready for the purpose with their horses and servants. The first mentioned of these, a most accomplished youth only 24 years of age, and father of sir Kenelm Digby, pleaded guilty to his indictment, and suffered death with great compunction; declaring

entious secret, which they used every means in their power to discourage and prevent.* In the second place I ask, what degree of weight and character did these conspirators bear amongst Catholics of their time? They were rash youths,† comparatively of small consequence, who by their conformity with the established religion, were looked upon as apostates and outcasts from the said body.‡ The first Catholic of rank and

at the same time that he was not let into the whole foulness of the plot; which if he had known, he would not have concealed it to gain the whole world. Stow's Contin. Patinson.

* Three Jesuits are mentioned in the act as being consenting to the conspiracy, viz. FF. Garnet, Tesmond, or Greenway, and Gerard. The last of these, though apprehended and confined in the Tower, was never brought to any trial; which seems to argue that there was no proof of guilt against him. The second escaped abroad; but his case was exactly the same with that of F. Garnet, who suffered on this occasion, and was peculiarly hard. These men were both successively consulted by Catesby, as divines, and under conscientious secrecy, concerning the lawfulness of the plot, and they both strongly condemned it, intreating that infatuated wretch to lay aside the thought of it. Garnet, in particular, when he found that his arguments were ineffectual, by way of gaining time, and in the end of defeating the villainy, begged of Catesby to send a messenger to consult the Pope concerning it; knowing well, as he said; that the latter would never give his consent to such a horrible crime. Catesby was at liberty to speak of this consultation, though Garnet was not. He accordingly informed his companions of it; in consequence of which, Tresham, when a prisoner, by way of gaining favour for himself, accused Garnet and Tesmond of being privy to the plot. The former was accordingly apprehended (as was also F. Oldcorne, for having entertained him at Henlip) and the jury who paid no attention to the manner in which he came by his knowledge of the plot, brought him in guilty of it. At his death he exhorted the Catholics to avoid all conspiracies against the state, declaring that if the one which he had known, but was not at liberty to reveal, had succeeded, he should ever have hated it and the persons concerned in it. See Dodd, vol. ii, p. 395, and his authorities; also Mem. Miss. Pr. vol. ii, p. 475.

† Except Piercy and Tresham.

‡ A cotemporary and well-informed writer speaks of the conspirators as follows: "They were a few wicked and desperate wretches, whom many Protestants termed Papists, although he priests and true Catholics knew them not to be such: nor

character whom Cecil endeavoured to draw into a share of the guilt, lord Monteagle, carried the anonymous letter he had received, to the real author of it, Cecil himself, and thereby occasioned what was called the discovery of the plot ; that is to say, he obliged that Machiavellian minister to break the thread of the conspiracy and to make the matter known about the court ten days sooner than he had intended. Yes, Sir, the world has a right to know, what has been industriously concealed from it, that, if Catesby and Piercy were nominal Catholics, lord Monteagle was a real one, having been, as his father and mother had been also, a great sufferer for the Catholic cause in the preceding reign * The earl of Worcester likewise and the earl of Northampton, who were the principal persons, together with the latter's kinsman the earl of Suffolk, in detecting the conspirators, were both Catholics—This observation leads me to ask another question : If the explosion had taken place, (of which however there was no danger, as Cecil was the invisible manager of the whole tragi-comedy,) who would have been sufferers by it ? The king, I grant, and the heads of the Protestant cause both in church and state ; but not more so than the supporters and chiefs of the Catholic interest, 20 of whom sat at that time in the house of lords ;* for none of them received notice to be absent from parliament, except lord Monteagle. A more

can any Protestant say that any one of them was such as the law terms Popish recusants :” He adds, p. 58. “ If any of them were Catholics, or so died, they were known Protestants not long before.” Prot. Plea for Priests, p. 56. Ann. 1621.

[* His mother, the countess of Morley, with her children and servants were apprehended on Palm-Sunday so early as the year 1574, and committed to prison merely for hearing mass privately in her house. She was afterwards heavily fined on this account, and leases made of two-thirds of her estate. On the very same day two other ladies of rank, lady Guilford and lady Browne, were taken up in different parts of London and treated in the same manner. Holingshead, Patinson, &c.]

† Amongst these were the marquis of Winchester, the earls of Northumberland, Southampton, and Arundell, the lords Montague, Morley, Abergavenny, Digby, Stourton, Mordaunt, &c.

important question for our present purpose than any of the former is this ; did the conspirators act in conformity with the principles of their religion, even as they conceived it, and did they think the horrid attempt in which they were engaged, to be lawful and meritorious ? You intimate that they did so ; and Hume, in unison with other modern writers, asserts that “ no one of these pious devotees,” as he calls them, “ ever entertained any compunction with regard to the cruel massacre which they projected.” The falsehood, however, of this will appear from their dying behaviour. For after the seizure of Fawkes, when Catesby, Piercy, the two Wrights, and some of the other conspirators found themselves surrounded, at Holbech house in Staffordshire, by the party of sir Richard Walsh, and that they must necessarily die either at the gallows or in the field ; “ in the first place *they fell upon their knees and asked God’s pardon for the villiany they intended* ;* they then opened the gates of the house, resolving to break through their opposers or to die fighting. Catesby and Piercy were killed with one shot, and Winter was wounded and made prisoner.”† In like manner, when this Winter and the remaining conspirators came to suffer the just punishment of their crimes, “ they all of them, except Grant, died very penitently ; Fawkes declared his repentance

* King James’s Works, quoted by Collier, vol. ii, p. 689.

† Ibid. [The author of the Politician’s Catechism; printed in 1658, the Hon. Peter Talbot, brother of the duke of Tyrconnel, an ingenious and well-informed writer, speaking of this event says : “ It is very certain that Piercy and Catesby, having no other weapons but their swords, (for their gun-powder exploded by an accident) might have been taken alive, but Cecil knew full well that they would have related the story less to his advantage than he himself caused it to be published.” — Sir R. Walsh was high sheriff of Worcestershire, and had with him the *Posse Comitatus*. As he did not attack the conspirators until three or four days after the plot was made public, he had full time to receive instructions from Cecil. Thus far all must agree, that it was in his power to take those chief traitors alive, and that it is extraordinary he did not use for that purpose.]

more remarkably than the rest, and exhorted all Catholics never to engage in any such bloody enterprize, it being a method never allowed nor prospered by God."* It is not extraordinary, that F. Garnet, the Jesuit, having laboured so earnestly in the secret conscientious way, through which alone he was acquainted with the conspiracy, to hinder its effect, should continue to express his detestation of it, when, through the prejudices of the times, he came to suffer death for a conduct which, in reality, entitled him to the warmest thanks of his country.† With respect to the Catho-

* King James's Works, quoted by Collier.

[† The account of this dark affair being so much falsified by the generality of writers who follow the interested naratives which Cecil was pleased to publish concerning it, we are not surprized that the Jesuits, whose names are mentioned in it, should have been calumniated with peculiar acrimony. Most of these, as Fuller, Echard, Guthrie, and Hume, speak of the religious men, as being the authors, or at least the instigators of the very worst part of the plot. A little reflection, however, might have convinced them of their error: as even F. Garnet whose guilt was supposed to be the deepest in this business, was not indicted and executed for having taken any part in the treason, but barely for having concealed his knowledge of it. The real truth is, Catesby opened his horrid design first to F. Greenway, alias Tesmond, in the confidence and under the seal of confession. It is most probable that his intention in this was to draw the priest into the conspiracy, as he and his confederates were not previously in the habit of frequenting the sacraments, according to an observation already made. Be that as it may, Greenway endeavoured to dissuade him from his infernal purpose by all the arguments in his power. These however failing, it was agreed upon by the parties to consult Garnet, who was Greenway's superior, and celebrated for his learning. He accordingly had several conferences with them, but still as conscientious secrets, and under the inviolable seal of confession. Garnet's decision was precisely the same as that of the other Jesuit;—but, as he found that Catesby was not to be deterred from proceeding in his design, by any thing that he could say, he entreated him with the greatest earnestness, and thought he had persuaded him to defer it until the Pope should be consulted about it. This was an attempt on the part of Garnet to gain time, and in the end to defeat the plot; because he well knew that the Pontiff would never approve of so diabolical an undertaking. Catesby, as I have before remarked, was at liberty to

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lic body at large, the king himself, in his speech in parliament, immediately upon the disclosure of the

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speak of these conferences, though Garnet was not, and accordingly it became known amongst the conspirators that the latter had been consulted. Upon the disclosure of the plot, racks being employed on one hand, and promises of pardon on the other, to extort the names of those who were acquainted with it, Bates and Tresham mentioned Garnet, who was accordingly apprehended, tried, and executed, for his knowledge of the conspiracy, as F. Oldcorne, alias Hall was for giving him shelter; but neither from the declarations of the conspirators, nor from his own, at his trial or his execution, or even when severely and repeatedly tortured on the rack, could any evidence be procured of his having any knowledge of the plot, except in the way of confession. I must add, that to make him appear distracted at his trial, he was kept without sleep six nights and days previous to it. Rapin and Collier, though they seem on the whole more candid than their fellow historians nevertheless dwell much on the alledged circumstance of Garnet's begging pardon for his crime at the gallows, and dying a penitent. The real truth of this I shall set down in the words of an eye-witness to the execution. Garnet having declared in his dying speech his horror of all treasonable practices, as being equally contrary to the sentiments of the Pope, and to the duty of allegiance, and having protested that he was ignorant of the plot, except in the way of confession, sir H. Montague, the recorder of London, told him that he was certainly privy to the design out of confession. "Mr. Catesby, said he, told you of it privately: we have it under your hand. Whatever is under my hand, said F. Garnet, I will not deny; but indeed you have not this under my hand. Mr. Catesby only acquainted me in general terms, that something might be done, or was doing for the benefit of the Catholic cause, without specifying what it was; and this is all I had from him as I hope to be saved. Then said the Recorder, do you ask the king's pardon for concealing the treason? I do, said F. Garnet, thus far and no more, in that I did not reveal the suspicions I had of Mr. Catesby's behaviour; though at the same time I dissuaded him from all treasonable attempts. And I do solemnly assure you, had that wicked stratagem succeeded, I should always have detested both the fact itself, and the persons engaged in it."—Append. to Mem. vol. ii, p. 483.—I shall only stop to refute one more falsehood concerning this sufferer, whose case on the whole was perhaps more extraordinary and deserving of compassion, than that of any other person who has died in the same way.—Fuller, with some other writers, and amongst the rest, I think,

plot, took care to acquit them of the guilt of it, and went so far as to declare "those puritans worthy of fire, who would admit no salvation to any Papist."*—The Catholics unquestionably felt the most lively horror of that desperate scheme, the execution of which would have proved still more fatal to them than to the nation at large, and they expressed it by every means in their power. In particular, the arch-priest, Blackwell, and the other heads of the Catholic clergy, immediately circulated a pastoral letter, in which they qualified the late attempt *detestable* and *damnable*, assuring the Catholics that the Roman Pontiff had always condemned such unlawful practices.† Having a few months afterwards, received a brief from Rome to the said effect, they published a second pastoral in the same spirit with the former.‡

I have already mentioned some of the reasons there are for supposing that Cecil, earl of Salisbury, was as deep in this plot, as his father, lord Burghley, is proved to have been in that of Babington.§ Certain it is that these reasons have had equal weight with many intelligent Protestants, as with Catholics. One of them

Addison, in his Travels, asserts that F. Garnet was beatified by the Pope some few months after his execution, and that this was occasioned by a pretended miracle of an image on a straw. The fact however is, that no one step towards such posthumous honours in his favour has ever been taken to this day.]

* Collier, vol. ii, p. 689. Guthrie, Gen. Hist. of Eng. vol. iii, p. 651.

† Collier, p. 670.

‡ Collier, p. 670. Carrier also in his letter to James I, p. 10, asserts that the Pope issued a brief in condemnation of the plot, in which he exhorted the Catholics to patience and obedience.

[§ Cecil did not carry on his schemes so secretly, but that some of his own domestics got a general notion of them. Accordingly one of them advised a Catholic friend of his, of the name of Buck, to be upon his guard, as some great mischief was in the forge against those of his religion. This was said two months before the disclosure of the powder plot. Politician's Catechism.]

calls it, "a neat device of the secretary ;"* another says, that he "engaged some Papists in this desperate plot, in order to divert the king from making any advances towards Popery, to which he seemed inclinable, in the minister's opinion."† James himself was so sensible of the advantages which his minister reaped from this plot, that he used afterwards to call the 5th of November, Cecil's Holiday. Finally, a third Protestant writer assures us, "that this design was first hammered in the forge of Cecil, who intended to have produced it in the time of Elizabeth ;...that, by his secret emissaries, he enticed some hot-headed men, who, ignorant whence the design first came, heartily engaged in it."‡ Thus much seems certain, that the famous letter delivered by an unknown messenger§ to lord Monteagle, never was written by a real conspirator, whose whole life was concerned in the issue of the plot.—Such a character would not unnecessarily, and with infinite risk to his cause and his life, have given his friend a written notice not to attend parliament, at a time when he could not know whether parliament would or would not be farther prorogued, and whether a hundred accidents might not otherwise prevent Monteagle from being present at it. He would not have given such advice ten days before parliament could possibly meet, when the previous notice of a few hours, or even minutes, would have answered his supposed purpose as well. In a word, he would not have explained the nature of the horrid scheme, in those significant terms which occur in the letter, to a person who is supposed not to have been sufficiently tried to

* Osborne's Hist. Memoirs of James I.

† The author of the Political Grammar.

‡ Short View of Eng. Hist. by Bev. Higgons.

§ We may observe that Babington was first drawn into the plot for which he suffered by such a letter, delivered to him by an unknown person. [We must also remember that Cecil, earl of Salisbury, had been trained up by his father, lord Burghley, and his colleagues, in the arts of counterfeiting letters, and privately conveying them to Catholics, and of employing secret emissaries to draw them into dangerous practices, &c. See pp. 200, 238.]

be admitted into the band of conspirators. On the other hand, if we suppose the letter to have been written and sent by Cecil in order to draw that young lord into the punishment, if not into the guilt of the conspiracy, and that, in case he had not made it known, other Catholic peers in succession would have received similar letters, a certain space of time was evidently necessary for this purpose, and still more so for devising the means of breaking the matter to James himself, so as to give him the credit of first discovering the mystery,

2dly, The secretary's delaying for the space of five days to communicate a business of that importance to his master, and his purposely deferring to have the cellars under the parliament-house examined previously to the very day of opening the session, prove that he had the management of the plot in his hands, and that he delayed the disclosure of it in order to have time for throwing his net over a greater number of persons, and those of higher quality than were yet engaged in it.*

3dly. The character and history of Francis Tresham, esq, one of the conspirators. leads us to suspect that he was to the earl of Salisbury in this plot, what Maud and Polley had been to his father, Lord Burghley, and Walsingham, in a former plot, almost twenty years before. Tresham was of a restless and intriguing disposition, and had been concerned in the conspiracy of the earl of Essex. He was well acquainted with Cecil, and is known to have had some communications with him concerning the affairs of Catholics.† At the disclosure of the plot, he never attempted to fly, presuming, no doubt, that he was sufficiently pro-

* See a Relation of the discovery of the Gunpowder, &c.—preserved in the Paper Office, and corrected in the hand writing of Cecil, Earl of Salisbury. Archæol vol. xii, p. 204.

† Tresham was upon such terms with Cecil that he had access to him at all hours not only of the day but also of the night. Politician's Catech p. 94.—Goodman, bishop of Gloucester, quoted by Foulis, in his popish Treasons, expressly says that Tresham wrote the letter to Monteagle. If so it cannot be questioned who dictated it.]

tected at court; but, on the contrary, he offered his services to apprehend the conspirators.* Being however seized upon and committed to the Tower, he met with a sudden death in the course of a very few days, before any trial or examination of him took place.— On this occasion a report was spread abroad, that he was carried off by the strangury, which is not a disorder that takes a sudden turn; whereas the physician who attended him pronounced that he died of poison.†

Lastly, The fraudulent art and consummate hypocrisy with which it is now evident that Cecil acted in disclosing this plot, confirms the idea that he had the management of it from the beginning. It is proved then from this secretary's own papers, that he had known of a conspiracy amongst the Papists, of some kind or other, three months before the letter was brought to him by Monteagle, Oct. 26.‡ It is proved by his own confidential letter to the ambassador at the court of Spain, written immediately after the breaking out of the plot,§ that he was acquainted with the whole diabolical malice of it, viz. that it was intended to blow up the parliament with gunpowder. He accordingly for his own security; as soon as he had received the letter, communicated it to the lord chamberlain Suffolk, whose office it was to attend to the security of the parliament-house when the king was to go thither: and these two conversed together about the different apartments adjoining to it, and particularly about the great vault under it.** They agreed however (that is to say, the prime minister thought it best) that the search in it should not be made before the session of parliament, which was not to take place for ten days, in order as he confesses, that "the plot might run to full ripeness;"†† and to see whether any other "noble-

* Baker's Chron.

† Wood, Athen. Oxon.

‡ Relation of the Discovery, Arohæol, vol. xii. p. 203.

§ Nov. 9, 1605. Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii, p. 170.

** Winwood's Mem.

†† Relation of the Discovery.

men would receive similar advertisement,"* that is, to allow him time to send fresh letters to persons of that rank (whom most of all he wished to entangle) if he found it expedient; finally, to attack the king on his weak side, by making him pass for the Solomon of Great-Britain, and to work up the nation to a paroxysm of fury against the Papists, by the apparent imminent danger to which all that was illustrious in it would appear to have been exposed. Having a letter of this importance to the nation and the king's person in his custody, he nevertheless declined giving James any information of it, by writing or messenger, at Royston, where he then was, during five days, that is to say, during half the time that was to run before the winding-up of the catastrophe; because he wished to deliver it in person, in order to guide both the king and the plot to his intended ends. On the last day of October,† the king being then at Whitehall, he presents the letter privately; no one but himself and the earl of Suffolk being present. We are told that neither of them delivered any opinion of his own concerning its contents, attending to hear "his majesty's conceit;" and there is no doubt that Cecil then addressed to him that fulsome and ridiculous compliment, which he afterwards committed to writing as his genuine sentiments concerning him, viz. that "his majesty was endued with the most admirable gifts of piercing conceit, and a solide judgement that was ever heard of in any age; but accompanied also with a kind of divine power in judging of the nature and consequence of such advertisements."‡ Such a bait was too well seasoned for James's appetite, not to be swallowed by him. Accordingly, at the opening of parliament a few days afterwards, the king declared himself to have been supernaturally assisted in detecting the plot.§ by interpreting the letter in a dif-

* Relation of the Discovery.

† Ibid.

‡ Relation of the discovery, p. 205.

§ "The discovery would be thought the more miraculous by you all, were you as well acquainted with my natural dispositi-

ferent manner from what any other learned man, however well qualified, would have done.* His artful minister, still more to indulge his vanity, and afford him greater matter of subsequent triumph, affected to ridicule the whole business, telling him, that "the letter must be written either by a fool or a madman, because of those words in it, *the danger is past as soon as you have burnt this letter* ; for if the danger were so soon past, what need of any warning."† The king however persisted in interpreting the letter as every other man, without his majesty's inspiration, would have done, namely, he said there was a mine stored with gun-powder under the parliament-house ; and accordingly he ordered it to be searched for. Cecil however makes him insensibly fall into the measure which he had previously concerted with the lord-chamberlain, that of deferring the examination until the very eve of the parliament's meeting. Accordingly, late in the evening on that day, the aforesaid chamberlain surveys the parliament-house and the vault under it, and finds every thing just as he expected. He sees the heap of faggots under which the powder was concealed, and he meets with Guy Fawkes, who had been engaged to fire it. The moment however was not yet come for disclosing the catastrophe of the drama with suitable effect. Hence it was pretended that this visit into the vaults below was made for the purpose of looking for some furniture belonging to the king,‡ and though the lord chamberlain, as Cecil himself tells us,§ "observed the commodity of the place for devilish purposes," and suspected Fawkes, on hearing he was the servant of Piercy, he neither gave any orders then for examining the former, or for detaining the latter.** At length, near the solemn

on as those be who be near about me," &c. King's Speech, Nov. 9, Journal of Lords.

* Relation, &c.

† Echard's Hist. of Eng. Baker's Chron.

[‡ Archæol. vol. xii, p. 206.]

[§ Ibid, p. 207.]

[** Ibid.]

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hour of midnight, sir Thomas Knevet, a popular justice of peace, is sent with his attendants to secure that wretch, and to uncover the barrels of powder, the news of whose discoveries would reach the members of parliament in the morning just as they were preparing to attend it. Thus Cecil gained his second point, that of rousing the nation to a degree of consternation and horror, proportionable to the supposed nearness of its approach to the brink of destruction, and of making its escape appear the effect of a particular providence, and absolutely miraculous.—Accordingly the people were taught to believe, that as nothing less than inspiration had enabled the king rightly to interpret Monteagle's letter; so nothing short of a miracle* had enabled ministry to find thirty six barrels of gunpowder lying on the ground, and only covered over with faggots, a few hours before they were to have been fired; whereas, we have seen, that they knew of gunpowder being lodged in the very cellar where it was found, at least ten days before, and that they agreed together not to look for it till this very time, that is, till the very day of the parliament's meeting.

I have one more observation to make on this subject. You, no less than the writers whom you quote, exhaust your eloquence in representing the crime of those wretched dupes of Cecil's villainy as a wickedness unexampled as well as unequalled in history.† It is impossible, Sir, for you to detest it more than I do; but when you speak of it as a new and unheard-of species of guilt, you pay a compliment to the inventive genius of the contriver of it, whether that were Cecil or Catesby, which he is really not entitled to. For, Sir, did you never hear of the preceding conspiracy of the Protestants in the Nether-

* The inscription still extant in the Tower is a striking monument of this infatuation; "Deo Opt. Max. Triuno, Sospitatori....conjuracionis nitrosi pulveris....in ipso pestis derepente inferendæ articulo, (1605, Nov. 5º) tam præter spem quam supra fidem, mirifice et divinitus detectæ....vindici, &c. Archæol. vol xii, p. 196.

† P. 81.

lands to blow up the prince of Parma, governor of those countries, with all the nobility and magistrates belonging to them, at a solemn procession in the city of Antwerp?*

† If you have not heard of this, you cannot at least be ignorant that a Catholic king of Scotland, the father of the very sovereign against whom the treason in question was devised, king Henry Darnley, was actually blown up and destroyed, with all his servants and attendants, by means of a mine stored with gunpowder, as he lay sick at his house of Kirk-a-field, and that the earls of Murray, Morton, Bothwell, Lethington, sir Archibald Douglas, sir James Balfour, &c. were the contrivers and perpetrators of this villainy, not without the privity and consent of lord Burghley, the earl of Salisbury's father, and Elizabeth herself.† The chief difference between this original and too successful gunpowder plot in Scotland, and its bungling imitation here in England, is, that the Protestants who devised and executed the former, were the heads and founders of the Reformation in that country; whereas the Catholics that were concerned in the latter, were the disgrace and outcasts of their religion in this. [Another heinous aggravation in the Scotch gunpowder plot, which does not occur in the English one, is, that the conspirators, after murdering their king, endeavoured by every vile artifice of forgery and perjury to throw the infamy of that diabolical act upon his widow, their Catholic sovereign, and even to get her legally convicted and executed for the guilt of it.]

Having exhibited this enlarged and faithful view of the powder plot, I may be permitted to ask, where is the charity, nay, where is the justice of those acrimo-

* Michæel ab Isselt da Bell. Belg.

† Whitaker's vindication, vol. iii, p. 255.—This author, with his usual candour and zeal for truth, admits, that the gunpowder plot in England was the imitation and offspring of that in Scotland; and he applies to them both those lines of Virgil:

Crudelis mater magis, an puer improbus ille?

Improbus ille puer, crudelis tu quoque mater.

nious sermons and services,* and of those tumultuous rejoicings, which have been annually made and directed against the Catholic body on that account for almost 200 years? It is undoubtedly proper to return thanks to the Almighty for all public blessings; but there have been other deliverances no less important, and still more extraordinary than this, for which no festivals or rejoicings have been instituted, or which after being instituted have fallen into disuse and oblivion † The Catholics, who are so commonly charged with uncharitableness, had no festivals abroad to commemorate the discovery of the conspiracies of Amboise and Meaux. Those at home do not meet, either at church or board, on the day when their grand enemy, Shaftsbury, fell into the disgrace and punishment which he had prepared for them. They have already forgotten that it was on the 9th of June, in the year 1780, when 100,000 Protestant rioters, who were up in arms to exterminate them, and who began to anticipate the

* In the first collect of the service in question, the Almighty is thanked for the deliverance of king James I, &c. from *Papish treachery*; thereby transferring the crime of thirteen self-convicted wretches to the whole church of which they were the disgrace. In the last prayer the Catholics are indiscriminately called *cruel and blood thirsty enemies*.—I once had occasion to hear one of those annual philippics against Catholics from the pulpit. Having afterwards complained of the calumnies and misrepresentations contained in it, a worthy literary character (Dr. Wharton) expressed his surprise that I should be dissatisfied with the discourse; saying that *it was a very good fifth-of November sermon*.—My answer was as follows: so then I find that the Catholics, like Shrovetide-poultry, are once every year fair game for every one who chooses to pelt at them; and I am left to understand that what is false every other day in the year, is true on the fifth of November.

† The fifth of August was appointed a day of thanksgiving for James's deliverance from the Gowry conspiracy, on which occasion, if we believe the king himself, he was in much greater danger of being assassinated by the Protestant earl of that name and his brother, and afterwards of being blown up with all his attendants by another Protestant gunpowder plot on the part of the burghers of Perth, than ever he was from *that concerted five years afterwards* by Catesby and his associates. See Collier, Ch. Hist. vol. ii, pp. 663, 664.

horrors of Jacobinism in this country, were beyond expectation, and almost beyond hope, suppressed, and when they themselves and their country were thus saved. To speak the truth, Sir, your candour on this, as on some other occasions, breaks through the cloud of your religious and party zeal. You accordingly express a wish that the commemoration of the powder plot were abolished, as "tending to perpetuate ancient animosity;" and you argue very justly on the inconsistency of "tolerating the Catholics as friends, and treating them as enemies."*

Whatever may be said of the above-mentioned conspiracy in other respects certain it is, that it answered the most sanguine wishes of the enemies of the Catholics, during the reign of James I. That weak prince was ever afterwards obliged to dissemble his partiality for them, and his connexions with them. When importuned by the bigoted clamours of the Puritans, who every day gained new strength, to promote the glory of God by shedding the blood of Catholics,† he found himself constrained to affect a severity which was foreign to his heart; and, notwithstanding his avowed principles of toleration, he actually sent to the gibbet and the block, eighteen priests and seven laymen, for the mere exercise of the Catholic religion;‡ besides

* P. 82.

† See the Petition of both Houses of Parliament against Popish Recusants, in which the petitioners having begged him "generally to put in execution the laws against them," conclude that "this will much advance the glory of Almighty God." Rushworth, Col. vol. i. To see more clearly the dreadful spirit of persecution that then pervaded the highest and most learned as well as the lowest ranks of persons, it may be proper to look at the letter of the archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot, to the king, on the proposal of a toleration of Catholics, in which the primate assures him, that "this act is hateful to God.....and that it will draw down upon him and his kingdom God's heavy anger and indignation." *Ibid.* Dodd, vol. ii, &c.

‡ See their names and history, *Memoirs Miss. Pr.* vol. ii, also Dodd, *Ch. Hist.* vol. ii. From this catalogue the reader will see how much the public has been imposed upon by Hume.

one hundred and twenty-eight persons of the former description, who were cast out into perpetual exile, and without mentioning the heavy fine of twenty pounds per month upon every Catholic who did not attend the church service. This penalty he dispensed with at the beginning of his reign ;* but it was rigorously exacted after the disclosure of the powder plot.

I cannot close my observations on this reign, without reminding you, Sir, that you have overlooked a much more plausible, though, after all, an unjustifiable pretext for these persecutions, than the treason, however black, of the above-mentioned thirteen conspirators ; I mean the refusal of the Catholics to take the oath of allegiance that was then offered them.— Yes, Sir, it is true, that infinitely the greater part of their body, laity as well as clergy, refused to take this oath ; some of them even when they might have redeemed their lives by so doing. The truth however is, they did not object either to the duties of allegiance, or to a solemn profession of that allegiance ;† but only to the insidious terms in which the oath in question had been drawn up, by a prelate‡ of a very different spirit from our present liberal bench of bishops, and by an apostate Jesuit,§ whom the lord treasurer Cecil's

where he says “ the severity of death was sparingly exercised against the priests by Elizabeth, and almost never by James.”

* Protest. Plea for Pr.

† It is worthy of observation, that two of the priests who were executed in this reign for their priestly orders, and who might have saved their lives by taking the oath of allegiance, Robert Drury and Roger Calwallador had in the last year of the late queen's reign subscribed, with other heads of the clergy, a solemn protestation of allegiance, which seems to have satisfied her at that period. In this Protestation, amongst other things, they abjured the deposing power, without however swearing that the acknowledgement of it was heresy. The priest, whose name was at the head of the subscribers, William Bishop, was afterwards appointed, by the see of Rome, the first Catholic prelate and V. A. that had been seen in England since the reformation.

‡ Bancroft, archbishop of Canterbury.

§ Perkins, afterwards dubbed sir Christopher Perkins. [It appears that young Cecil, on this occasion, was in some danger

son had seduced from his college at Rome. By this formula they were not only required to make the usual declarations of allegiance, and to abjure the deposing power, which several of them had already done, but also to swear that the doctrine in favour of it was *heresy, impiety, and deserving of damnation*; as likewise that the civil power, in pronouncing upon these abstract theological matters, did no more than exercise its just authority.* These objections against the form of the oath, however insuperable they were to Catholics, were not of a nature to strike the generality of Protestants. Nevertheless they were foreseen by the Machiavelian policy of its framers and abettors, who did not wish for a fair test of Catholic loyalty, but for a fresh pretext to persecute and calumniate them as disaffected persons and traitors.†

The following reign was, as we all know, a reign of calamity and confusion. Nevertheless, amongst the various and extraordinary scenes by which it is distin-

of being apprehended by the Roman government as an English spy, and that cardinal Allen and F. Parsons procured him to be dismissed and treated with all civility and honour. Resp. ad Edict. Reg. Ang. p. 207.]

* See the oath. Dodd, vol. ii, p. 463. Fuller, &c.

[† Dr. S. in a supplementary note to his second edition, p. 155, objects to the Catholics of former times, their "refusal to swear that the doctrine in favour of the deposing power was *heresy, impiety, and deserving of damnation*." I wish he, whose creed will be seen to lie within so very narrow a compass, had attempted to prove in a theological manner the first point which he intimates, namely that the deposing doctrine is *heretical*. In that case I should have endeavoured to give him a regular answer. In the mean time I may be permitted to ask, how it concerns any just and liberal government under what qualifications the deposing doctrine is rejected by its subjects, provided they really do reject it, as the Catholics have actually done upon oath? This was evidently the idea of a modern luminary of the law, who is no less distinguished by his humanity, than by the dignity of his station, who, upon my arguing this point with him in the manner that is here expressed, when the oath to be taken by Catholics was under consideration in the year 1791, readily yielded to my objection, and accordingly answered: "*The deposing doctrine is just as much mathematical as it is heretical.*"]

one hundred and eight leading members of Parliament, at the rate of ten pounds for every lord, and of forty shillings for every commoner so murdered."* To shew, Sir, the bigotry of the first men in the nation at that time against the Catholics, it will be sufficient to mention, that upon this very deposition of the Cripplagate tailor, stuffed with other circumstances equally absurd, and unsupported by any collateral evidence.† the house of commons proceeded to the most violent measures against them ;‡ and under pretence of greater security, ordered the train bands and militia of the kingdom to be in readiness and to be placed under the command of that real traitor, the earl of Essex.§

At length, Sir, a great and eventful crisis in the affairs of the nation arrived, when the allegiance and fidelity of the subject was to be tried, not by boasting professions and extravagant oaths, but by actions and sufferings in the cause of duty. In short, a civil war broke out, when those vapouring patriots who affected to dread so much danger to the state from the treason of Papists, were for the most part found in arms against their king and the constitution, which arms they refused to lay down, until they had murdered

* See the deposition at large in Nalson's Collect. vol. ii, p. 646, &c.

[† The particulars deposed to by the taylor, of what he pretended to overhear from behind the bank, are very numerous and entertaining. The following is a sample of them: "that those who were to kill the lords were brave gallants in their scarlet coats, and had received every man ten pound a piece, and when that was gone, they might come and fetch more.— That Dick Jones was appointed to kill that rascally puritan Pym, and that four tradesmen were to kill the puritan citizens, which were parliamentary men, that Philips (who was a poor old religious man, queen Henrietta Maria's chaplain and confessor) had also his charge and five more with him, he (Philips) being the 108th man and the last as he (Beale) thought." p. 647.]

[‡ Several of them were committed to prison, others were brought up by messengers from their seats in the country, as were the Sheldons of Weston, and sir Henry Beddingfield, and a general inquisition was made of all their principal men in the kingdom. Ibid.]

§ Nalson's Collect.

the one, and overturned the other ; whilst, on the other hand, the Papists themselves, I may say one and all, were seen lavishing their blood and treasures in defence of a country from which they had little to hope, and had hitherto experienced rather the harshness of a step-mother, than the affection of a natural parent. They would still have refused the oath of allegiance, had it been tendered to them ; but they, one and all, in their respective stations, performed the several duties of allegiance with a heroism which has extorted the praises of their more candid enemies,* and even your's, Sir, amongst the rest.† No sooner was the standard of loyalty erected, and permission given for Catholics to serve, than the whole nobility of that communion, the Winchesters and Worcesters, the Dunbars, the Bellamonts, the Carnarvons, the Powises, the Arundells, the Fauconbergs, the Mollineuxes, the Cottingtons, the Monteagles, the Langdales, with an equal proportion of Catholic gentry and yeomanry, were seen flocking round it, impatient to wash away with their blood the stain of disloyalty, which they had been unjustly constrained to suffer during the greater part of a century, namely, ever since the accession of Elizabeth. Those who were possessed of castles and strong holds, turned them into royal fortresses ;‡ and the rest of them raised

[* The well known Dr. Stanhope, quoted by Dodd, says, " It is a truth beyond question, that there were a great many noble, brave, and loyal spirits of the Roman persuasion, who did with the greatest integrity, and without any other design than satisfying conscience, adventure their lives in the king's service : and that several, if not all of them, were men of such souls that the greatest temptations in the world could not have perverted them, or made them desert the king in his greatest distress." Another eminent Protestant divine, said to be a bishop, cited by him, asserts that " the English Papist for his courage and loyalty in the first war, deserves to be recorded in the annals of fame." Ch. Hist. vol. iii, p. 31.

† P. 83.

‡ Such were Winchester castle, Arundel castle, Wardour castle, Ragland castle, Lullworth castle, Lidney house, Camden house, Basing house, &c. [For some account of the gallant

what money their estates could afford; in support of the king and constitution.* We may judge of their exertions by their sufferings in this cause. Of about five hundred noblemen and gentlemen, who are computed to have lost their lives in it, the names of one hundred and ninety-four Catholics, being nearly two-fifths of the whole number, have been collected.† Their pecuniary sufferings on this occasion bore a still greater proportion to those of other loyalists. Above one half of the lands confiscated by the rebels, was Catholic property.‡ In the mean time we may be sure that the penal laws were not permitted to sleep over those who were particularly obnoxious to them. One priest and one layman had been executed on account of religion at the beginning of Charles's

actions performed by Catholics in the neighbourhood of Winchester during the civil war, see the Hist. of Winch. vol. i, pp. 406, 411.]

[* Amongst the Catholics of distinction who lost their lives in this cause of honour and duty, I shall mention the following : Robert Dormer, earl of Carnarvon, killed at the first battle of Newbury ; Henry Constable, viscount Dunbar, slain at Scarborough, where his two sons were also badly wounded ; sir John Smith, who rescued the king's standard at the battle of Edgehill, killed at the battle of Alresford ; sir Arthur Aston, governor of Reading ; sir Henry Gage, governor of Oxford, who so valiantly relieved Basing-house ; sir Froylus Turberville, lieutenant of the life guards ; colonel Thomas Howard, who was principally instrumental in gaining the battle of Atherton moor, in which he was slain ; the honourable Thomas Howard, the hon. Edward Talbot, major general Webb. See Lord Castlemain's List. Mem. Miss. vol. ii, p. 334. Dodd, vol. ii.]

† Lord Castlehaven's Apology, cited by Dodd, vol. iii, p. 28, and Challoner's Memoirs, vol. ii.

[‡ The rebel parliament sent out commissioners in the year 1643 and 1644 with orders to seize on the two thirds of the estates, whether real or personal, of all Catholics indiscriminately, and the whole of the estates of all delinquents, namely, of such as had borne arms for the king. These sequestrations were so rigorously executed, that the commissioners "even triparted the common labourers' goods and household stuff, and have taken away two cows when the whole stock was but three."

The Christian Moderator, written by the learned Austin, the real author of the book called Hicke's Devotions. Mem. Miss. vol. ii, p. 334.]

reign;* and a little before the breaking out of the civil war, the lives of two other priests were extorted from him, in the same manner as his minister Strafford was, by his sanguinary enemies.† But when the latter had taken the executive power into their hands, no fewer than seventeen priests were put to death; to whom are to be added two others that suffered under the protectorship of Cromwell.‡ Yet, notwithstanding the distinguished exertions and uncommon sufferings of the whole Catholic body in the cause of loyalty during the civil wars, such has been the incurable malignity of their calumniators, that, after the restoration, they were accused of having been the promoters and actors in the rebellion and the murder of their sovereign. It has been confidently asserted by respectable writers, that several priests were sent into the rebel army by the Pope, in the character of Puritans, &c. that the bodies of many known Jesuits were found amongst the dead troopers of the parliamentary army, after the battle of Edge-hill; in short, that the infamous judge Bradshaw, and the very executioner who beheaded the gallant Charles, were both Jesuits.§

The Catholics were not daunted by the fate of their late master, or depressed by their own sufferings, but continued to prove the same unshaken fidelity to Charles II. that they had shewn to his royal father. A great number of them shed their blood in the fatal battle of Worcester; on the issue of which the king's life was entirely in their hands during the six following days that he spent at White Ladies, at Mosely, and in the Royal Oak at Boscobel. The names of fifty-two persons of their communion, and amongst the rest of three priests, are upon record, who during that interval were acquainted with the dignity of the

* F. Arrowsmith and R. Hurst, in 1628.

† In 1641.

‡ See *Memoirs of Miss. Pr.* vol. ii.

§ Salmonet, Bramhall, Dumoulin, &c. cited by Echard, *Hist. of Eng.* vol. ii, p. 662. Dodd, vol. iii, p. 26. See also lord Castlemain's Apology.

royal fugitive then in their power, not one of whom was inclined to betray him, either by the immense rewards or the terrible punishments held out to all persons indiscriminately for this purpose.* On one particular occasion, the king owed his life to the care and ingenuity of a priest, who concealed him in the hiding-hole which was provided for his own safety.† I have mentioned these circumstances because they are invidiously suppressed by the generality of writers.

The church being now suppressed, together with the state, the members of the former had occasion to taste of that cup of calumny, hatred, and oppression, of which the Catholics had been so long forced to drink. The pulpits were filled with what the parliament termed "a godly, faithful, painful, gospel-preaching ministry," who railed against the alledged malignancy, treachery, barbarity, superstition, popery, and idolatry of their predecessors in office, with as little moderation or regard for truth as the Catholics had before experienced in the common anniversary discourses on the 5th of November.‡ The Presbyterians however did not long retain their power; for Cromwell being tired of their yoke, put himself at the head of those who were for a more perfect equality and independency in church affairs than the former were willing to allow the laity. Accordingly his highness in person sometimes mounted the pulpit, and modelled the scriptures, as he had modelled the laws, to the views of his own ambition. In the end however, when this usuper found himself assailed with the ex-

* See the names in Dodd's Hist. vol. iii, p. 181, from the *Observer*, by sir Roger L'Estrange. Dodd, *ibid*, p. 28.

† This was F. Huddleston, who resided at Mosely, the seat of Mr. Whitegrave. F. Orleans, Revol. D'Ang. Dodd. The above mentioned hiding-hole is still to be seen at the present Mr. Whitegrave's house at Mosely, near Wolverhampton, as is also the Priest's hiding-hole (which concealed the king, whilst he did not sit in the oak tree) at White-ladies, about ten miles from the aforesaid town.

[‡ See Grey's Exam. of Neal. Heylin's Hist. of Presbyt. *Foulis' Plots of pretended Saints.*]

travagancies of the Quakers,* and the anarchical ravings of the Fifth-monarchy-men, who would admit of no other ruler but Christ himself, and of other frantic enthusiasts,† each of whom with his bible in

* See the life of G. Fox, by Penn, *passim*.

[† Dr. Featly an eminent divine quoted by Grey, complains heavily of the consequences of the liberty in question. He says: "There is not the meanest artizan, nor the most illiterate day-labourer but holds himself sufficient to be a master builder in the church of Christ. I wonder that our doors and walls do not sweat when such notices as these are affixed to them; *On such a day such a brewer's clerk exerciseth, such a tailor expoundeth, such a waterman teacheth.* So fond were the common soldiers of shewing their gifts this way that they declared *if they might not preach they would not fight.*"—One of these preaching soldiers went into the church of Walton upon Thames with a lanthorn and five candles, declaring to the people, that he had a message from God which they must receive upon pain of damnation. He first declared, that the sabbath was abolished, and put out one light. He next declared, that tythes were abolished, and put out the second light. He then proceeded to declare, that ministers were abolished, and that magistrates were abolished, putting out his third and fourth lights, and lastly that the bible itself was abolished, which he burnt with his fifth light, and then extinguished it. See *Exam. of Neal*, vol. iv, pp. 61, 62. The same author furnishes us with the most extraordinary instances that can be conceived of the prevailing blasphemies, impieties, crimes, and follies, proceeding from the unrestrained licence which every one then claimed of explaining the scriptures for himself, (not greater however than what happened at the beginning of the Reformation in Germany and Holland.) "Salmon a preacher at Coventry, taught his people to curse, swear, and commit whoredom. At Dover a woman cut off her child's head, pretending a particular command like Abraham. Another woman was condemned at York, in March 1647, for crucifying her mother, and sacrificing a calf and a cock. Other extravagancies were as laughable as these were terrible. Some have killed their Cats for catching mice on a Sunday, but deferred the execution till Monday; nay, one precisian, as he is called, knocked out the head of his barrel of beer for working on the sabbath day." An instance of the former kind gave occasion to the following ludicrous verses; in Barnaby Rattle's progress.

Veni Banbury, O profanum
Ubi vidi Puritanum

his hand was ready prepared to demonstrate his system to be the only one therein revealed, he of course felt the fatal consequences of that unlimited right of interpreting the scripture which he had hitherto supported. He felt it absolutely necessary to restrain the prevailing spirit of sedition on one hand, and yet he found that this could not be done without violating the fundamental principle of Protestantism on the other.

From what has been said, it will appear what just claims the Catholics had, not only to common protection, but also to a certain degree of favour, upon the restoration of the constitution by the accession of Charles II. But you, Sir, it seems, are of a contrary opinion. Hence you justify not only the continuance of the old penal laws, but also the framing of those new and unprecedented statutes against them which marked that prince's reign. It is not however against the Catholics alone that you declare yourself, but the restored monarch also comes in for a share of your censure; you accordingly lament, that "the nation readmitted him with open arms, almost unconditionally, and had not the prudence—to fix more exact boundaries to the prerogative of the crown, and the liberty of the people."*

But above all, you complain that the king and his brother the duke of York were both converted to the "Roman Catholic religion, during their exile abroad."†

Felim facientem furem,
Quia Sabbato stravit murem.

Ibid, pp. 92, 101.

* Pp. 84, 85.

† P. 84.—Dr. S. says, on the authority of Hume, and the *Depot des Affaires Etrang.* that Ch. II, entered into a pecuniary treaty with Louis XIV, for the purpose of settling the Catholic religion in England. It seems certain, however, that nothing was done on the side of the king and Catholics towards the execution of such a treaty. On the other hand, it is clear from the said *Depot*, that the boasted patriots and enemies of Catholics, Algernon Sidney, Hampden, Armstrong, Shaftsbury, &c. were pensioners of the French court, and that lord Russell himself was deep in an intrigue with it. Dalrymp. Mem. *Append.* p. 315.

Had this been true, which was certainly false,* yet I cannot see how Charles would have forfeited any part of his right to the allegiance of his subjects by so doing, as the laws then stood; any more than Elizabeth formerly did by choosing her own religion; much less can I see how this would have justified those black calumnies, those sanguinary combinations, and that cruel persecution, to which the Catholics found themselves exposed from the beginning till the end of his turbulent reign. Not a session of parliament passed over without the most importunate solicitations being made for the sacrifice of the lives and fortunes of Catholics, as of sworn enemies not only to the civil constitution, but also to the king's person. Not a public calamity took place, but what, as had been the case in the former reign, was laid at their door. We have a striking instance of this in the fatal fire of London, which, though it took place on the very day on which it is proved certain republicans had conspired to enkindle it,† and though there was not the shadow of a proof that any Catholic whosoever was concerned in it, yet was the guilt of it thrown upon them: just as the burning down of Rome had been charged by Nero, the real incendiary, to the primitive Christians.‡—We need no historical records in proof that this unblushing calumny was actually brought against the Catholics, since that lofty monument, which, as the

* Charles II, though a convert to the Catholic religion in his own private opinion some time before, as appears by the two papers found after his death in his strong box, did not become a member of it until his death-bed scene, when he was reconciled by the aforesaid F. Huddleston. See the latter's account of this transaction, abridged by Dodd, vol. iii; also Dalrymple's *Memoirs*: James II, was not a Catholic until after the death of his first wife, the earl of Clarendon's daughter, who herself died a Catholic. They were both converted by reading Heylin's *Hist. of the Reformation*. See Orlean's *Hist. of Revol.*

† Sept. 3, being Cromwell's fortunate day. Echard, *Hist.* p. 832.

‡ Tacitus, *Annal.*

poet says, "like a tall bully, lifts the head and lies,"* (inscribed by a magistrate who himself was convicted of perjury)† still remains to attest it, and to convince us, not of the crime of Catholics, but of the dreadful bigotry and intolerance of the times when it was raised.‡

In this state of the public mind nothing was wanting but the contrivance of a Walsingham or a Cecil to invent a new Popish plot, and thereby to furnish a pretext for exterminating the whole race of English Catholics, and for involving the royal family in their ruin.§ Such an artist was found in the hoary traitor

* Pope's *Ethic Epistles*.

† Sir Patience Ward. He was convicted of perjury in the trial of sheriff Pilkington. See Echard.

‡ The Latin Inscription, which goes round the base of the column is to the following effect: THIS MONUMENT IS ERECTED IN MEMORY OF THE BURNING OF THIS PROTESTANT CITY, BY THE POPISH FACTION, IN SEPTEMBER A. D. 1666. FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION AND OF OLD ENGLISH LIBERTY, AND FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF POKERY AND SLAVERY.—BUT THE FURY OF THE PAPISTS IS NOT YET SATISFIED. This infamous inscription was erased in the reign of James II, and inscribed again in that of king William, which circumstance accounts for the coarseness of the present characters; thus is sacred truth made the dupe of human interest and prejudice! Bishop Burnet, in the History of his own times, to give what countenance he can to the calumnious inscription, says, that, one Hubert, a French Papist, confessed that he began the fire." Now Higgons, in his *Historical Remarks*, proves and Rapin, in his History confesses, that Hubert was a Protestant, that he was mad, and that he did not arrive in London till after the fire. He tells another story, from a vague report, concerning one Grant, a Papist, and member of the New River company, who is accused of stopping the water of that river at the beginning of the fire; whereas Higgons proves from dates, that he was not then a member of the company, and that if he had been so, he would have possessed no such power as that in question. *Hist. Rem.* p. 217.]

[§ The Hon. Roger North, in his *Examen of Kennet's History*, gives an account of, what he calls, "a famous essay of the Oatesian kind, called Mocedo's plot, introduced by Colonel Mildmay, an old rumper, and late mob-dryer in Essex." This

Shaftsbury, who having begun his career, as he afterwards finished it, in the darkest conspiracies and treasons, was best qualified to forge plots against others. He had associates worthy of himself in the two infamous clergymen, Dr. Tongue, and Dr. Oates, the latter of whom gave his name to the plot in question.* For a real plot it was, and a most fatal one, being contrived not by the Catholics, but against them and their royal protectors. It had been considered as the summit of malice, in the rebellious parliament under the former sovereign, to oblige him to send his faithful minister Strafford to the scaffold, as a traitor to him. But this villany was exceeded in the present reign

was set on foot a little before Oates's plot, and is considered by our author as furnishing a sketch of it. This Mocedo, who is described as "a man of that profligate character, that profligate temper, that he would have accused any body of any thing," being introduced by Mr. Mildmay to the king and council, deposed that there had been "a meeting of the Popish clergy at sir John Bramston's house in Essex, where it was agreed to set up Popery, and to gather Peter-pence, and that sir Mundi-ford Bramston, a master in Chancery, and serjeant F. Bramston, were to have offices." The witness was positive as to the day when this happened, but had the ill luck to pitch upon one when sir M. Bramston went of a message from the Lords to the Commons, and sat with the master of the rolls in the afternoon. By which demonstrable confutation this plot (for introducing Popery) vanished and was no more spoken of" Pp. 126, 127.]

* Dalrymple ascribes the formation as well as progress of the plot to Shaftsbury. When the absurdity of it was mentioned to him, his answer was, "we shall do no good with the people if we cannot make them swallow greater nonsense than this." Mem. of Great Brit. p. 42. [Echard relates, that Shaftsbury, speaking of the plot to a nobleman, made use of the following speech: "I will not say who started the game, but I am sure I had the full hunting of it." The same author relates a curious incident relating to Oates and Tongue, that being both invited to a sumptuous entertainment by a set of citizens, firm believers in the plot, and more notice being taken of the former, the latter grew jealous, and in his passion let fall that "Oates knew nothing of the affair but what he had learnt from him," (Tongue): which words strangely disconcerted the company, and being carried to the king, confirmed him in his opinion that the whole was an imposture.]

by the king's enemies, who constrained him to sign the death-warrants of those tried friends who had saved his life after the battle of Worcester, under a pretence that they had now conspired to take it away, at one and at the same time, by poison, by gunpowder, and by the sword.* It is not necessary for me to enlarge on the revolting absurdity of the plot itself in each one of its several parts, on the blasted characters of the principal witnesses who were admitted to give evidence concerning it, on the corruption and violences that were alternately employed to seduce other witnesses,† since these are admitted and detailed by your favourite historian, and by other writers, who do justice to Catholics in hardly any other instance. Let it suffice to say, that the nation was nearly two years under this fatal delirium,‡ that the reality of Oates's plot was voted by two different parliaments, and that one peer, lord viscount Stafford, was beheaded, and seventeen other Catholics, priests or laymen, were hanged, drawn, and quartered, as being guilty of it ;§ besides

* See the deposition of Oates.

[† See, in particular, Echard's account of the overbearing threats and savage cruelties employed by Shaftsbury in order to force Francis Coral and Miles Prance to swear contrary to their consciences concerning the murder of sir Edmundbury Godfrey. The very courts of justice were no asylum to innocence at this time, but were infected with the general prejudice and odium against Catholics. Lord chief justice Scroggs browbeat and abused their witnesses to such a degree that many of them did not dare to appear in court. "He took in with the tide," says North, "and ranted for the plot, hewing down Popery as Scanderberg hewed down the Turks." The attorney-general used to say about this period, in the trials for murder : "If the man be a Papist, then he is guilty, because it is the interest of the Papists to murder us all." North's Examen. p. 130.]

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diced patriots ; whilst the royal brothers, Charles and James, who professed to make the law the boundary of their authority, are held up by yourself and most writers, judging as you do by latter rather than by former precedents, as the very models of despotic tyranny. In opposition to this idea, your favourite historian will inform you, of what is otherwise evident, that from the beginning till the end of the 17th century, that is to say, during the whole dynasty of the house of Stuart, the parliament continued to "gain upon the prerogative, and to acquire powers favourable to liberty"* It is well known, that Charles rejected Shaftsbury's proposals to make him absolute and independent of parliament ;† and that, in revenge for his disappointment, this modern Ahitophel‡ returned to the traitorous practices of his early life, which brought him to ruin and an ignoble end. With respect to the other brother, he began his reign with solemn declarations, both in council and in parliament, that he was determined to preserve the government both in church and state as he found it established, and that the law was sufficient to make him as great a king as he wished to be."§ Towards the close of his life, when with every thing else, he had lost his hopes also, and could have no interest in deceiving, he assured his confidential friends, that it ever had been his intention to govern according to law** — What gives a plausibility to this declaration is the care which he took in causing the most obnoxious branch of his prerogative, the dispensing power, to be

attorney-general of the duchy of Lancaster, having presumed to bring a bill into parliament for restraining spiritual courts, Elizabeth not only deprived him of his office, but likewise shut him up in Tutbury-castle for his life. Heylin's Hist. of Reform.]

* Hume.

† Dalrymp. Mem. vol. i, p. 33. Orleans Revol. Higgon's.

‡ The name given to Shaftsbury in Dryden's beautiful poem of Absalom and Ahitophel. See ii Sam. c. xvii.

§ Dalrymp. Mem.

** See the discourse between James and sir Edw. Hales.—Dodd, vol. iii, p. 421.

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tried in the court of King's Bench, and decided upon by the judges of the land. With all this honesty and good intention, which I believe James possessed, I am ready to grant, that he was ignorant of the state and constitution of the nation which he had undertaken to govern, and that he was precipitate, violent, and head-strong. But God grant that no future sovereign of this country, who is devoid of these defects, may be ever exposed to such unfavourable circumstances, as those in which he was placed with a people worked up to madness by religious prejudices and forged plots, with judges who misled him, with counsellors who deceived him, with a prime minister who intentionally and systematically led him on to destruction,* and with the most heart-breaking treachery amongst his dearest domestic ties.

In speaking of that change of the government and constitution of this country which took place in the year 1688, it neither is my intention now, nor was it when I wrote my History, to throw any reflections upon it. I have solemnly submitted to that change, and have sworn to support the consequences of it.— There are indeed some circumstances in the language and conduct of the Tories who took a part in it, which I should have felt a satisfaction in discussing with you merely as literary questions, (for the Whigs acted a consistent part, and so far I respect them;) but I judge from your book, now before me, that you, and other respectable characters, are not possessed of sufficient temper to hear this discussion from me, however patiently you may have already heard it from others. I wave then the agitation of all constitutional questions, after having declared with all sincerity, that whatever the law considers as illegal in the conduct of the deposed monarch, the same I admit to be illegal also.— In a word, I mean to confine myself entirely to my

* See lord Sunderland's and his countess's letters to king William, in which they boast of the share which they had in bringing about the Revolution. Dalrymp. Append. to Mem. of Gr. Brit.

province as an historian, and your antagonist, in barely comparing certain instances of tyranny which you object to me, with former precedents that I have met with in my reading. This is the line which I followed, in the few remarks I made on the event in question, in my History. I flatter myself that I have there brought forward some very strong and interesting cases in point,* of which, as you dwell so long upon the subject, you were bound by the laws of literary warfare to take notice, either by disproving them, or by shewing that they are not conclusive. Instead however of this more difficult task, you choose to walk in the beaten path of general declamation upon the imprudent and illegal behaviour of the misguided James. The topic on which you most insist, is the right claimed by him of dispensing with the persecuting statutes against Catholics. On this I need say the less, as the author whom you principally consult, has proved in an ample dissertation that the dispensing power in general had been exercised on certain occasions by all our preceding sovereigns † As to the dispensation in particular of the penal laws against Catholics, it is demonstrated, from better authority than Hume's, that this had always depended entirely on the will of the sovereign, in every reign since those laws were enacted. Charles I, Charles II, James I, ‡

* Vol. i, p. 439.

† Hume, Hist. of James II, c. i.

[‡ See Rapin's extracts from the Apology of James I, where, boasting of his lenity and favours to the Catholics, he says: "How many did I honour with knighthood of known and open recusants? How indifferently did I give audience and access to both sides, bestowing equally all honours and favours on both professions? And above all, how frankly and freely did I free recusants of their ordinary payments? Besides it is evident what strait order was given out of my own mouth to the Judges to spare the execution of all priests, notwithstanding their conviction, joining thereunto a gracious proclamation, whereby all priests at liberty might go out of the country: my general pardon having been extended to all convicted priests in prison." Hist. of Eng. b. xviii.]

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and even Elizabeth,* employed Catholics in their armies, their navies, and about their persons; sometimes in greater numbers than James II, employed them.† Each of those sovereigns had also frequently mitigated, or entirely suspended the operation of the persecuting statutes;‡ and however loudly the actual exercise of this mercy was complained of, as detrimental and irreligious, by the puritanical parliament of James I, and Charles I; yet the right of exercising it was

* Amongst a great number of other Catholics employed in those reigns were the following noblemen. Under Elizabeth were the earls of Worcester and Northumberland, the former ambassador in France (see Strype) the latter an admiral against the Spanish Armada, &c. Under James I, were the earl of Northampton, lord privy seal, lord Digby, ambassador to Spain, &c. Under Charles I, were the earl of Bristol, lord Baltimore, lord Bellamont, lord Aston, lord Cottington, as well as his fellow secretary of state, sir F. Windebank, &c. Under Charles II, were the earls of St. Alban's and Norwich, the lord treasurer Clifford, lord Arlington, &c.

† The only Catholics of any note whom I find to have been employed by James in his council, were the lords Powis, Arundel, Bellasis, Dover, Tyrconnel, Castlemain, Peterborough, and F. Petre. Those in public offices, were the lords Widdrington, Langdale, Cecil, earl of Salisbury, (who then became a Catholic) and Thomas Howard; the baronets Tichborne, Hales, and Butler; Messrs. Brown, Porter, and Bonaventure Giffard. The chief Catholic officers in the army, were the duke of Berwick, the lords Dunbarton and Montgomery, and colonel Hamilton. In the navy, the only known Catholic officer was admiral sir Roger Strickland.

‡ Even Elizabeth sometimes granted dispensations for the exercise of the Catholic religion. Cowdry-house was a privileged place for all priests. Mrs. Felton, wife of John Felton, mentioned before, p. 121, having been a favourite lady of the court to Elizabeth, though a Catholic, had a privilege from her to protect one priest, to officiate for herself and her family.—Dodd, vol. ii, p. 152. It may be added, that all the numerous proclamations for banishing priests, which took place in the several persecutions, were so many dispensations of the Penal laws, which required that they should be put to death. See Strype, Annals, vol. ii, p. 322. Dodd, &c. See in particular, the Instructions of James I, to his Ministers, &c. exempting the Catholics, at a certain period, from prosecution. Dodd, vol ii, p. 439.

never called in question, being then considered as an unquestionable branch of the prerogative. With respect to certain imprudent acts of James in the exercise of his religion, which you bring forward on this occasion, I shall content myself with observing, that you are guilty of much misrepresentation as to the facts themselves, that you labour under much misapprehension as to the meaning of the existing laws in their regard, and that it is easy to bring precedents from former reigns in excuse for many of the most obnoxious amongst them, and particularly for the suspension of bishop Compton and Dr. Sharp,* in virtue of the supremacy.

But of all the arbitrary acts of James II, that which you most insist upon is his issuing and attempting to enforce a mandamus for the election of a president of Magdalen college, Oxford. This act some other gentlemen of your acquaintance have also dwelt upon in their publications, as a most unwarrantable invasion of private property ;† and your favourite historian declares it to have been “the most illegal and arbitrary act of violence of all those committed during the reign of James.”‡ On this point you even challenge me to the test of precedents, where you say : “No other king, I believe, ever claimed visitorial power over any college to which a particular visitor was appointed by its founder.”§ I own, Sir, I am quite surprised that you, and the gentleman, once a member of the college in question, whom you appeal to with such confidence, should be so uninformed. as you appear to be, upon a subject more immediately relating to yourselves than to most other persons. Be that as it may, I am pre-

* Archbishop Grindal was suspended by Elizabeth, for refusing to suppress prophesying ; archbishop Abbot of Canterbury and bishop Williams of Lincoln were both suspended by Charles I, on different pretexts, but in reality for opposition to Government ; and bishop Goodman of Gloucester was not only suspended, but also imprisoned, for refusing to subscribe to Laud's synod.

† Hampshire Repository, Append. pp. 131, 132.

‡ Hume, Hist. James ii, c. i.

§ P. 105.

pared to meet you upon the proposed ground, after having briefly observed, 1st, that I heartily condemn the monarch as guilty of the greatest imprudence in committing himself with the fellows of a college concerning the meaning of their statutes. He would have acted much more wisely in overlooking the affront he met with at Oxford, as he did a similar affront at Cambridge, where Alban Francis, whom he recommended for the poor distinction of M. A. was rejected, as being a Catholic, though a professed Mahometan had recently been elected to it.* 2dly. I do not undertake to shew, that James's conduct in this very business was legal, even as the laws then stood, much less as they are supposed to stand at present; having professed that I have nothing to do, with legal questions, but merely to state matter of fact. 3dly, On the same ground I feel myself dispensed from examining the weight of the arguments, by which you and the other writers alluded to, attempt to aggravate the alledged injustice of the sovereign in that transaction. I now, Sir, call your attention to the chain of precedents collected in the notes below,† from the

* The secretary to the ambassador of Morocco. Burnet's Hist. of his own times, vol. ii, p. 697.

† In the year 1534 the act of supremacy passed, by which the king was declared "to have full power to visit and reform all heresies, abuses, &c. which by any manner of spiritual authority may lawfully be ordered or reformed." 26 Hen. VIII, c. i. The very next year Henry made his visitation of the universities. Dr. Leigh was his commissioner at Cambridge, whence he carried away the charters, bulls, and rentals, at the same time introducing a new set of injunctions or statutes. Amongst other things he undertook to new model the studies of the university. Cellier, vol. ii, p. 110. Strype, Mem. Eccl. vol. i, p. 209. The following is an extract from the despotic mandate of the royal visitor: "Has leges et injunctiones jam tullimus, reservantes nobis et præfato Thomæ Cromwell visitatori generali potestatem quascunque alias injunctiones indicendi, cæteraque pro nostro sive ejus arbitrio faciendi, quæ nostræ ipsiusve discretionis visum fuerit." Ibid. rec. 58. The deputy visitor at Oxford was Dr. Layton, whose letter to vicar-general Cromwell, giving an account of his arbitrary proceedings and

very time of passing the act of supremacy, in the reign of Henry VIII, down to that of the dispute in question. When you have examined this, which in-

punishments in that university, particularly at Magdalen college, may be seen in the last quoted author. *Mem. Eccl.* vol. i, p. 210.

In the year 1549, under Edw. VI, a college visitation of a very rude nature was set on foot by the protector Somerset,—The visitors were empowered, in virtue of the supremacy, not only to make new statutes, but also to suppress certain colleges, and to convert some theological fellowships into others for the study of the laws. Bishop Ridley, who was one of the number being touched with the complaints of the students, and jealous for the honour of his own profession, wrote to Somerset, excusing himself from executing the latter part of his orders.—But the protector persisted in his measures, telling him in answer that the public service required them. Burnet, *Hist. Ref.* part. ii, p. 120. *Ibid.* rec. 59, 60. The said protector, together with archbishop Cranmer, had in the preceding year, in a summary way, appointed two foreigners divinity professors in the universities, Peter Martyr at Oxford, and Martin Bucer at Cambridge. *Mem. Eccl.* vol. ii, p. 121.—In 1552, “The king and council provided two new masters for colleges, the one in Cambridge, the other in Oxford. Dr. Walter Haddon was intended for the presidentship of Magdalen college in Oxford, Dr. Ogelthorp, the president, having been dealt withal to resign it. But it happened, that neither Ogelthorp was after willing to resign, nor the fellows to elect Haddon. Which caused the king, after one letter to that college without success, to send them a second angry one. But at last he was placed there.” *Mem. Eccl.* vol. ii, p. 386.—In Mary’s reign, ann. 1557, both universities were visited, not indeed by virtue of the royal supremacy, but by that of the primate cardinal Pole. Burnet, part ii, p. 345.

Queen Elizabeth having resumed the supremacy, continued, during the whole of her reign, to exercise the most unbounded jurisdiction over the universities and colleges. Even before that act passed, she had made some changes in the colleges of Winchester and Eton; but soon after she made a general visitation of all churches, collegiate as well as cathedral and parochial, throughout the whole kingdom; and all other power or jurisdiction, whether of visitors, bishops, or others, was suspended whilst this was performing. The royal visitors, (who were almost all of them laymen of various creeds and characters) or any two of them, were authorised to examine and punish by ecclesiastical censures, imprisonment, &c. all manner of eccle-

deed I could extend to a much greater length than I have done were it necessary, I am of opinion you will

siastical persons, bishops as well as others, and to reform all heresies, irregularities, &c. according to their own judgment. Collier, vol. ii, p. 435. Strype, ann. of Ref. vol. i, p. 167. In this visitation, amongst other things, Cozins, master of Catherine Hall, Cambridge, having been forced to resign, Bill the visitor would not permit the fellows of it to choose his successor, but wrote to the primate to nominate one. Life of Parker, by Strype, p. 89. In 1561 the said archbishop not only visited Eton college, by commission from the queen, but also framed new statutes for it contrary to those which had been sworn to, asserting that no statutes whatever ought to stand in opposition to better order. Ibid, p. 105. Append. rec. 16. The same year the queen, being displeased in her progress to see "so many wives, women, and children in cathedrals and colleges, which," she said, "was contrary to the intent of the founders, and so much tending to the interruption of studies....issued an order to forbid the resort of women to the lodgings of cathedrals and colleges, upon pain of losing their preferment. And the order was to be entered into the books of statutes. The copy of this order was sent to the two archbishops and to the chancellors of the universities for their charges." Strype's Life of Parker, pp. 106, 107. The same year, Coveney, president of Magdalen college, Oxon, having been turned out, Laurence Humphreys, a noted Puritan, and afterwards dean of Winchester, made interest with the archbishop, and the bishop of London to obtain the place. The fellows however refused to elect him, urging that their consciences would not permit them to choose a man who was disqualified by their statutes. But in the end they were content to submit to the court favourite. Ibid, p. 112. In the year 1572, lord Burghley being chancellor of Cambridge, sent down several new statutes for that university. Collier, vol. ii, p. 537. Three years afterwards, great dissensions prevailing there, viz. in St. John's college, "a new set of statutes was framed and established for that house," by a royal commission. And. of Ref. vol. ii, p. 373. About the same time there was great confusion at Christchurch, Oxford, in consequence of numerous letters from the queen, appointing different persons to fellowships, contrary to the established rules and practice of that college. Ibid, p. 374. The same method of obtaining benefices was so frequent at Cambridge, that we are assured "the ordinary application was to courtiers, for their letters to the heads of colleges for *mandamus's* from the queen for preferment; so that free suffrages for preferment were impeached." The university repeat-

candidly retract your above-cited assertion, viz. that "no other king (except James II.) ever claimed visitatorial powers over any college to which a particu-

edly begged of Burghley to interpose his credit with the queen for removing this grievance; but instead of such an effect,— "there were more *mundanuses* and dispensations with the statutes sent down than ever." Annals, vol. ii, p. 540. In 1581 we have an instance nearer home for my present purpose, which I should have expected a Wykehamist would have been better acquainted with than myself. Elizabeth sent a letter to the college of this city, requesting a long lease to be granted of their rectory of Downton, in order to gratify therewith the clerk of the council, Mr. Wilkes. The answer of the warden and fellows to this requisition, still extant, shews great embarrassment on their part. Recollecting, I presume, that *Ense petit supplex potens*, they indeed grant the lease for the full term of forty years; but they earnestly entreat that they may not be urged with similar requisitions in future. They fail not to mention their oath of preserving the foundation; but conceive that their departing from it in the occurring instance will be excused by the performance of their duty as obedient subjects. Annals of Ref. vol. iii, p. 54.

In proof of the authority claimed and exercised by James I, over colleges, I may content myself with another domestic example, already mentioned in my History. Being in want of a spacious building in this city for the accommodation of the judges, when the law term was to be kept here, he peremptorily orders the warden, fellows, and students to withdraw themselves from the college, and to give it up to him for so long a time as he should want it for the said purpose. What appears most extraordinary is, that no opposition or objection to this act of the royal visitors seems to have been made by the sufferers, on the score of their statutes, oaths, or the like. To speak the truth, he dispenses with their observance of those obligations. See Hist. vol. i, p. 390. James's mandate to this effect has since been published in the Hampshire Repository, vol. i, p. 111.

During the reign of Charles I, archbishop Laud insisted upon visiting the universities in his own right as primate. This claim they resisted; but at the same time, they formally acknowledged the king's right to visit them, and offered to receive Laud, provided he came to them in virtue of a royal commission to this effect. The question was debated in council, and in the end the king decided that the primate was competent to make this visitation without any such delegation. Guthrie's Compleat Hist. of Eng. vol. iii, p. 938.

lar visitor was appointed by the founder."* I think also you will admit, that it was neither from "ignorance of the subject," nor from any wilful misstatement of it, that I maintained "the dispensation of the crown, by virtue of the supremacy, to have been the only ground on which the fellows of colleges could excuse their non-observance of different statutes of their founders."† To render your mistake, in a point

The long parliament, assuming all the authority of the executive power visited the university of Cambridge in 1642, and that of Oxford in 1648. In the former 12 heads of colleges and above 200 students were displaced, and others were appointed in their place, by the parliamentary visitor, the earl of Manchester. Similar violations of statutes took place at Oxford, Winchester, &c. Collier. Ant. Wood.

Upon the Restoration, new commissions were issued by Charles II, to reform those seats of learning; and we find frequent mention of royal letters for fellowships and degrees in behalf of favourites during his reign. Wood, Athen. Oxon. et Fasti Oxon. Amongst other instances, in 1666 a mandamus was issued for the election of Dr. Anthony Sparrow, afterwards bishop of Exeter and Norwich, to the mastership of Queen's college, Cambridge. Nevertheless a majority of the fellows persisted in the choice of Dr. Patrick, who was also afterwards bishop. In consequence of this, some, if not all the opposition members were expelled the college. Wood's Athen. and Fast. ad dict. an. [The common letter of the wardens of New college and Winchester college cited by Dr. S. p. 209, 2d edition proves that mandatory letters were common in the elections at the latter college during the reign of Charles II, no less than in that of his brother. Bishop Burnet says, in general, speaking of academical degrees, "The truth is, the king's letters were scarce ever refused in conferring degrees."

[* It now appears that I was deceived in the opinion I had conceived of my opponent's candour in this particular. For though he says in one place, p. 206, "Mr. M. has indeed produced many instances of royal interference with colleges in the two universities from the reign of Henry VIII, to that of Charles I," yet in another place, namely, the place quoted, he puts down the assertion in question, just as it stood before, viz.—"No other king, I believe, ever claimed visitatorial powers over any college to which a particular visitor was appointed by its founder." P. 246, 2d. ed. No wonder this writer is so backward in retracting the errors which I have confuted, when he refuses to cancel those which he confesses himself.]

† P. 96.

me to produce an instance of a king of the Brunswick line having claimed the authority of nominating to a college benefice, where he himself was not the regular visitor, (for the passage in my History* refers only to ecclesiastical livings of that description;) I answer, Sir, that you will find, upon examining the public offices, that such a one occurred with respect to the very college in this city. When the duke of Newcastle was secretary of state, I think it was in the year 1726, John Trenchard Bromfield obtained a royal mandate for a nomination at the election in Wykeham's college of Winchester, to the great displeasure of the warden and fellows who opposed this mandate. In the expostulation which they made on this occasion, they recurred to the same arguments that had been employed in the contest at Magdalen college; and, in particular, they endeavoured to discredit the practice of mandamuses as having been a reproach to the reigns of Charles II, and James II; though in fact these princes, as we have seen, made much less use of them than most of their immediate predecessors. The answer which they received to their expostulation was, that, as they disputed his majesty's right to make the nomination in question, his attorney-general must settle the business with them.†

* Vol. i, p. 440.

[† Nothing shews more clearly the straits to which my adversary is reduced in the present controversy, than his frequently abandoning the main point at issue between us in order to fix upon some trifling circumstances. Thus on the present occasion, instead of entering into the substance of the question on which he challenged me, he spends no less than five pages in exposing two or three trifling inaccuracies into which I fell in my account of the college election in consequence of my not having that access to its archives which he enjoys. These are the following: the candidates name was *Bromfield* not *Broomfield*; the election was for a *scholarship* not a *fellowship*; lastly, the nomination, though actually made in virtue of the royal mandate, *did not take effect*. He neglects however to inform us whether this happened in consequence of the death of George I, who died soon after, or of Bromfield's death, or resignation, or of what other accident. In the mean time it is sufficient for me to remark, that I have corrected above each one of the in-

SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF CATHOLICS. 267

There is one circumstance, relating to the transaction in question, with which you are evidently much embarrassed. You acknowledge that James's "Declarations of Indulgence were the critical acts by which his destiny was determined."* In other words, you admit that he lost his crown by declaring, that as long as he was king, no Catholic, Arian, or Anabaptist should be put to death, and that no Quaker, Dissenter, or other Protestant should be whipped, fined, or imprisoned, (as had been the case in all the preceding reigns) for the mere profession or exercise of his religion, whatever that might be. The question is not here, Sir, concerning the legality of James's declarations, but about the consistency of your own. The reader will recollect the warm controversy I have had with you concerning the executions of Mary's reign, and your repeated assertions, that "if she was a persecutor it was in virtue of her religion that she was so." Unfortunately for the truth of these, you are forced to allow, that the very next Catholic sovereign who mounted the throne after Mary, was dispossessed of it because he refused, in any manner whatsoever, to concur in the work of persecution! What is more we know that his conduct, in this particular, was approved of by all the Catholic world.—In vain, Sir, you try to extricate yourself from this perplexing situation. In vain you labour to defend, at the same time, the opposite causes of persecution and toleration. You flounder from one contradiction to another, in such manner as to move the pity of every intelligent reader. In the first place you say, "It is a gross imposition to represent James as a patron of toleration, because he belonged to the most intolerant

accuracies pointed out, (as I am determined to correct more important errors whenever they are proved against me) and still that I have confessedly made good the assertion upon which I was challenged; namely, I have produced "an instance in which a king of the Brunswick line claimed the authority of nominating to a college benefice where he himself was not the regular visitor."]

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* P. 87.

of all religions.”* This, Sir, I must remind you, is what logicians call a *petitio principii*, or begging the question. You deny plain facts on the strength of imaginary systems. But by this time, Sir, the reader is enabled to judge for himself of the grounds on which your hacknied accusations against Catholics on the score of persecution rest. In vindication of James’s sincerity, I have to remind you, that he not only did actually screen all other religions from persecution as well as his own, at the same time that he supported the church of England in the same manner as other kings have supported it, but also that he exerted the utmost zeal and liberality in protecting and providing for the French Protestants, who fled from their own country into this, on the revocation of the edict of Nantz.† I must add, in further proof of the sincerity of his tolerating spirit, that he had zealously promoted the abolition of the statute De Hæretico Comburendo in the former reign.‡ This behaviour cannot be rationally accounted for on any other principle than that of genuine toleration. By way, however, of shewing that he was guilty of deception in his declarations, you alledge, that “he threatened the clergy.”§ But with what did he threaten them? Was it with arbitrary expulsion or degradation, in the style of Edward VI, Elizabeth, and James I? No, Sir, we have seen in the speech of his visitor, the bishop of Chester, that he threatened the fellows of Magdalen college with the effect of the law, and of the law alone.** With the same intent you complain that he imprisoned the seven bishops.†† The fact is, they were resolved to be imprisoned. For they not only refused to find bail for answering the king’s charges, but also to stand bail for one another, when this extraordinary privilege was offered them. No doubt they afterwards repent-

* P. 90.

† See Hist. of Winch. vol. i, 438.

‡ Collier, vol. ii, p. 897.

§ P. 91.

** See above, p. 318.

†† P. 91.

ed of the storm which they had raised, when they found themselves shipwrecked in it, and deprived of their bishoprics : but they triumphed for the moment, and were revered as confessors of the faith.

I consider it, Sir, as the greatest proof of the perplexity into which you have brought yourself upon this subject of toleration, that you stoop to threats, and hold out against me the terrors of the law. Having mentioned in my History, what you also are constrained to allow,* that the deposed monarch fell a victim of toleration, I added the following short reflection : "To fall in such a cause was worthy of a king." In return, you ask, "If I had no apprehensions when I wrote this of being prosecuted by the attorney-general?" and you assert, that this expression "deserves such a prosecution much more than Mr. Reeve's unfortunate metaphor."† I might here reply to you, Sir, in the words of your patron, bishop Hoadly, in which he says, "For one Christian divine to tell another that he contradicts acts of parliament, would have an odd appearance."‡ But I do not wish to adopt the sentiments of that prelate either on constitutional or ecclesiastical questions ; and I am ready to meet your charge on the footing of a fair argument.—Is it then a doubtful point, after all your lofty panegyrics on toleration, whether the practice of it is right and commendable, or the contrary? Now if it be right and commendable, can any power on earth hinder it from being honourable and worthy of a king? The present question, Sir, is not a question of law, but of ethics. I admit that the change of government alluded to was legally effected, because the legislature has decided that it was so. But the concession, which I here make as a subject, does not preclude me, as an historian, from observing, that the deposed monarch derived honour to himself from the circumstances of his fall. Let us suppose that Charles I, had persisted, in opposing his seditious parliament, when it re-

* P. 87.

† P. 91.

‡ Answer to Dr. Snape's Letter.

quired him to send his faithful minister Strafford to die the death of a traitor. I believe there is no doubt that in this case he would have lost his crown sooner than he actually did. But would you, Sir, have joined with those unconscientious divines who advised that measure,* which stung him with so much remorse at his own death. Or let us suppose that Charles II, had refused to sign the death warrant of the virtuous lord Stafford, and of the other Catholic victims of Oates's infamous plot; every intelligent person must be satisfied that he would have been the deposed monarch instead of his brother. If, however, he had possessed sufficient firmness of mind, or rather enough of Christian principle, to sacrifice his crown in this cause, would not his fall have been worthy of a king? But why need I state imaginary cases, when you yourself furnish me with a real one? You assert then that archbishop Sancroft and the other five bishops who lost their sees for refusing to abandon their doctrine of passive obedience and to swear allegiance to king William, "would not have shewn more virtue by concurring in the measures of the Revolution, under the new government,"† than they did by opposing them. So then, according to you, Sir, there was virtue (and of course I presume honour) in opposing

* The famous Usher of Armagh, and Morton of Durham, Williams of Lincoln, and Potter of Carlisle. See Collier, vol. ii, p. 801.

† P. 95.—Dr. S. boasts, that the university of Oxford which carried its theory of obedience so high in its decree of 1683, should be the first to refute it in practice. P. 88.—The same observation is applicable to certain dignitaries of the first rank at that period. Tillotson who replaced Sancroft in the see of Canterbury at the Revolution, having, together, with Burnet attended lord Russel at his execution, in 1683, required him to abjure the doctrine of resistance, as *incompatible with the Protestant religion and all hopes of salvation*. See his letter to lord Russel, Echard. Birch.—Tillotson's successor, Dr. Tenison, in his examination of Hobbes's Creed, had written thus: "Woe to all the princes of the earth if this doctrine (of resistance) be true, and become popular....Such as own these pernicious doctrines, so far from deserving our love and care, ought to be destroyed at the public charge."

the Revolution even after it had been established by law. This is a great deal more, Sir, than I asserted in the passage you have denounced to the attorney-general ; which implies no more than that some of the steps which led to it were honourable before that event took place. See, Sir, into what absurdities your want of candour and your want of logic, has betrayed you ! Your friends and admirers who happen to cast their eyes on this page, will no longer boast of the advantages which they pretend you have here gained over me ; and you yourself will no more venture to object to me, that I have weakened his majesty's title to the crown.*

I have already said, that I submit to the doctrine of the constitution on this point whatever it may be ; in the mean time admitting, as I do most fully and have done upon oath, the title in question, I may without offence settle it in my own mind, on that which appears to me the most solid and secure of all foundations, the same by which every ancient freeholder claims and holds his estate, viz. long established and undisputed possession ; to which, in the present instance, must be added, the oaths, the interests, and the affections of the whole community. Had I indeed advanced any thing like what your friend and fellow disciple has done upon this subject in a work which you yourself constantly cite with applause, I should not be without fear for my safety.† Nor should I be quite satisfied if some of the passages which occur in your dissertation upon it, now open before me. were to be found in any publication of mine. For example, in aggravating the alledged tyranny of James II, you

* P. 91.—[The accusation which my opponent has here laid against me being of so very serious and alarming a nature, he was certainly bound, in his second edition either to retract it, or else to cancel the passage in his own book, in which I have proved that he has published the very same doctrine that he condemns in mine : or at all events he was bound to shew a disparity between the meaning of his proposition and that which made use of.]

† “ The prejudices of the people, and the circumstances of the times concurred in placing William, a stranger and a soldier, on the throne of Britain. Hence a door was opened to

say, "He had seen the miseries into which the nation had been plunged by attempts to extend the royal authority beyond its legal bounds, and the invincible spirit of the people with which such attempts were resisted."* Here the whole misery attendant on the civil war is charged to the account of the honest and religious Charles I; and no part of it to the republican spirit of Puritanism, to the hypocrisy of the Covenanters, to the turbulence of Pym, to the enthusiasm of Peters, to the pride of Hampden, to the ambition of Cromwell, and to the democratic fury of the times. On the contrary, the behaviour of Charles's enemies is unqualifiedly approved of. Your intentions are no doubt very innocent, but certainly your language is singularly imprudent in such times as these. I must say the same of another passage which I meet with on the same subject, where, speaking of the inconveniences attendant on the dispensing power, you say, if this be admitted, "all that our ancestors obtained from Charles would go for nothing."† Does not this expression convey an implied approbation of that absurd and fatal principle of false patriots, that *whatever power is extorted from the crown, is so much real gain to the subject?* In fact we know, that our infatuated ancestors gained from Charles I, the abolition of the hierarchy, the command of the fortresses and the militia, and the disposal of the purse. If you did not mean to approve of all their acquisitions at that period, it is plain you ought not to have expressed yourself in such vague and unqualified terms as these. Your theological doctrine appears to me still more faulty in this matter, than your constitutional princi-

innumerable evils, some of them remaining to this day, and likely to remain to the latest posterity." Discourses by Thomas Balguy, D. D. dedicated to his present Majesty. Disc. iv. On the Restoration, p. 68. What these *prejudices of the people* were, we are not informed; but from what is said p. 58, and from other passages we are left to conclude, that they were those in favour of monarchy.

* P. 91.

† P. 87.

ples, particularly where you intimate that the passages of the apostle : *Be subject to every ordinance....whether it be to the king as supreme, &c.* 1. Pet. c. xi, v. 13, and that other, *Honour the king*, v. 17, do not apply to "a constitutional English monarch."* But the most singular passage in the whole dissertation is the following, where, speaking of the obedience enjoined to civil government by scripture, you say, "It does, as in other instances, give a general rule, and leaves the application in each particular instance to the good sense and virtue of individuals."† When I meet with these and some other passages in your *Reflections*, I am forced to look at the form and title of the work to satisfy myself that I have not by mistake laid my hand on some work of Dr. Priestly, or Gilbert Wakefield. For my part, when I have occasion to cite those texts of St. Peter, I teach that the obedience enjoined in them is not less due to his present majesty, than it was to the Roman emperors under whom St. Peter wrote, that the obligation of it is incontestable, and that the application of it is to be determined, not by the virtue of individuals, but by the laws and constitution of the state in which we live.

"James having sacrificed his crown to his religion, and that religion being declared a disqualification in future to any claims of succession," you tell us, that Catholics "were placed in a situation still more adverse to government"‡ This you allege in vindication of "the new penal laws then enacted with increased severities against them."§ In your account of the preceding reigns, particularly that of Charles II, you represent the strength of Catholics in those times, and the favour of government to them, as motives for the fresh penal acts and persecutions they then experienced ; whereas, here you describe their weakness, in consequence of the Revolution, and the disfavour of government in their regard, as furnishing equal grounds

* P. 88.

† P. 88.

‡ P. 92.

§ P. 93.

cal sins of the whole community were charged.. This is conformable to your own account, where, having described the dangers to which king William's government was exposed from foreign wars, domestic plots, and by "the general feelings of a great part of the nation" for the Stuart family, you gravely tell us, that "to meet these new dangers, new laws were enacted with additional severities and restraints" against the Catholics.* In fact, they were harrassed

* P. 93.—[The most severe and I may say unjust amongst those laws was that of 11 and 12 of Will. c. iv, by which all Catholics who neglected to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and to protest against their religion as idolatrous, according to the Declaration of 30 Car. ii, were disabled from inheriting the estates of their ancestors or from making any purchase of lands, profits, &c. and by which all Catholic clergymen were subjected to perpetual imprisonment, with a reward of 100*l.* for the apprehension of each one of them, &c. I call this act unjust, and I might call it tyrannical, because the historian and panegyrist of King William's reign, who himself had a considerable share in enacting this law, has acknowledged that it was the effect of a mere party contest between the government and the opposition of that period; each of which abhorred the measure, whilst each of them supported it, in order to throw the odium of being friendly to Popery on the other, should it object to the proposed severity. In such manner were the fortunes and persons of the hapless Catholics sported with in those days! But the words of my author will best explain this iniquitous transaction: "Those who brought this bill into the house of commons hoped that the court would have opposed it. But the court promoted the bill. So when the party saw their mistake, they seemed willing to let the bill fall, and when that could not be done, they clogged it with many severe and unreasonable causes, hoping that the lords would not pass the act; and it was said, that if the lords should make the least alteration in it, they in the commons who had set it on were resolved to let it lie on the table, when it should be sent back to them. Many lords who secretly favoured Papists, on the jacobite account, did for this very reason move for several alterations, some of these importing greater severity. But the zeal against Popery was such in that house that the bill was passed without any amendment, and it had the royal assent" Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii, p. 229.—The first indulgence shewn to Catholics in his present Majesty's reign was the repeal of this act in the year 1778.]

with domiciliary visits in search of arms, with double taxes and other imposts, with the seizure of their horses, &c. They were banished from the metropolis, rendered incapable of inheriting or purchasing, required to enregister their estates under pain of losing them, and a reward of one hundred pounds was held out to informers for the conviction of every clergyman of their religion. It is true that all these penalties were not imposed in the time of king William ; but some or other of them continued to be enacted in every reign, until that of his present majesty, and the penalties of them have been frequently enforced even during the course of his reign.*

I will now, Sir, venture to assert that your laboured defence of the persecution of the English Catholics is solidly refuted, and that these professors of the ancient faith are now proved to have been, for the space of two hundred years, an injured and oppressed people. The visor of political necessity is now for ever torn off from the hypocritical face of bigoted intolerance, and she stands confessed in all her native hideousness. Were I to pass from the department of historical to that of theological controversy, and to exhibit the gross falsehoods and misrepresentations which those divines, whose writings you celebrate as invincible, the Stillingfleets, the Tillotsons, and the

[* In the year 1765 and the five or six following years the Catholics were very much molested and persecuted by informers particularly by one Paine, who endeavoured to traffic in the penal laws, by recovering the above-mentioned reward of 100*l*. upon the conviction of each priest whom they apprehended.— There is reason to think that these wretches were set on by certain powerful persons ; but it is certain they were discouraged as much as was possible by government and the courts of judicature. Many chapels, however, were shut up, and a very considerable number of the Catholic clergy was tried upon the aforesaid act of king William, amongst whom was the late hon. James Talbot, uncle to the present earl of Shrewsbury.— One of these, a Mr. Malony, having owned himself on his trial to be a priest, the court was under the necessity of sentencing him to perpetual imprisonment. He was however, soon after enlarged on condition of his quitting the kingdom.]

Burnets,* are guilty of, in exhibiting the religion of all the saints in the calendar as a system of idolatry, immorality, and perjury,† I should shew by what means

* P. 97.

† As a specimen of the virulent declamation and shameful calumnies, to which many of the most respectable characters have even until a late period, been accustomed to give scope, in a situation where they were not liable to be contradicted, and where Popery was the theme. I will transcribe the following passage, amongst others in the same spirit, from a Discourse of Dr. S. himself, which he has not scrupled to entitle. *On Moderation with respect to Religious Differences*. Having enlarged on the alledged past-corruptions of the Catholic church, which he signifies are sufficient to justify the application to her of the passages relating to Antichrist and the whore of Babylon, he proceeds to state "some doctrines which he says, notwithstanding her present more decent and moral conduct," remain fixed upon her by virtue of her own principles. To propagate religion....by persecution armed with all its terrors, by slaughter, by devastation, by executions; to consider every crime, even of the blackest kind, sanctified by this end; to offer the human expedients of pardons and indulgencies, in order to exempt men from moral obligations, and to make them easy under the violation of them, are doctrines and practices, which still remain authorised by the infallible voice of her Popes and the decrees of her councils." Disc. xvi, pp. 327, 328. It is impossible to be a man, and not to feel such bitter reproaches, especially when made under the mockery of *Religious Moderation*; and it is impossible to be a divine, without possessing the ability of refuting such mingled ignorance and falsehood. But a Catholic consoles himself in such circumstances with reflecting, that the meek, amiable, and unresenting disciples of Jesus, even in the golden age of the apostles, were accused, convicted, and put to the most horrible kinds of death, precisely on the charge of *hating all mankind*. "Odio humani generis convicti sunt." Corn. Tacit. Annal. lib. xv. To show the force of the prejudice, which even liberal minds are liable to on the subject of religion, it will be sufficient to mention, that this celebrated historian, in the passage here referred to, terms the Christians, "Sontes, reos, novissima exempla meritos.....per flagitia invisos," and calls their religion itself, "exitialis superstitio."

[Dr. S. complains that when I quoted the above calumnious passage I did not put down a subsequent passage, in which he admits that a great number of Catholics, from not understanding the principles and tendency of their religion so well as he does, were good citizens and subjects. To confess the truth in

this spirit of bigotry and persecution was excited and kept up, and I should produce a picture of equal deformity, with that already exhibited. The task indeed would be light and easy, compared with the one which I have performed. But you have not, Sir, challenged me upon that ground.

At length the prejudices of persons in the higher ranks of life wearing away, and the wisdom of uniting the inhabitants of this island in one interest, becoming every day more manifest, at a time when America was nearly lost, and France began seriously to threaten an invasion, a deputation of the Catholic body was permitted to approach the throne, and to pour into the bosom of the father of his people those sentiments of veneration, loyalty, and affection, with which they had long been deeply and universally penetrated. This auspicious measure was followed by a certain relaxation of the penal laws, in 1778, which, however small in itself, was as great as the temper of the times would bear. For now the *green-eyed monster* of religious jealousy, who had so long slept over his unresisting prey, at the first appearance of its escape from his cruel fangs, began to rouse himself to all his native fury. The pulpits of the lower sort, particularly those of John Wesley and his associates,* resounded, and the presses of the metropolis groaned, with hypocritical lamentations on the pretended increase of Popery, and the fatal consequences to be apprehended from the late indulgence granted to its professors; a religion, which it was asserted, "had slain its thousands by

one particular trial I am unable to contain my temper. It is when persons of a different communion who are proved not to understand their own religion pretend to teach me mine. In the mean time it is sufficient to observe that a particular answer to this complaint of my opponent is to be found above. Pp. 21, 22.]

* See John Wesley's *Popery Calmly considered*, 1779: Printed by R. Howe, and sold at the Rev. Mr. Wesley's preaching houses; also his *Defence of the Protestant Association*, 1780. [N. B. in consequence of his exertions in this cause, the thanks of the Association were voted to him, Feb. 17, 1780.]

its cruelty, and its tens of thousands by its ignorance.”* By these, and other inflammatory harangues, a society was collected together at the beginning of the ensuing year, 1779, under the title of *The Protestant Association*, professedly instituted on the plan of similar asso-

* See the Plan and Institution Deed of the Founders of the Protestant Association, in Wesley's *Strictures on The State and Behaviour*, pp. 32, 34. In the same strain of intolerance, these enthusiasts, in their Appeal to the People of England, after “bemoaning the loss of millions of poor people who are prohibited by Papists from reading the scriptures,” (though it were a charity, says the judicious and lively O'Leary in his Answer to Wesley, to teach them first to spell) they go on: “to tolerate Popery is to be instrumental in the perdition of immortal souls, and of millions that only exist in the prescience of God, and is the direct way to provoke the vengeance of a holy and jealous God against our fleets and armies.” Appeal from Prot. Assoc. p. 18.—[See also a pamphlet printed in 1782, by R. Denham, Salisbury-square, and published by the Protestant Association under the title of the *Sketch of a Conference with the earl of Shelburn* (then secretary of state). The other parties were the president lord George Gordon, the secretary Joshua Bangs who had succeeded Jabes Fisher the treasurer, Mr. Ed. Sargeant, and the Rev. David Wilson with two other preachers. They had each their part assigned to them as lord G. informed earl S. and Mr. D. Wilson's department was to “remind the latter of the word of God, upon the subject of the Association.” He accordingly thundered into the ears of earl S. that “from the command given to the princes of Israel to break down Idolatrous altars, &c. it is the indispensable duty of all princes and rulers and magistrates to prohibit the practice of idolatry within their jurisdiction, and to extirpate every monument of it; that to tolerate false and idolatrous worship, was to affront the majesty of heaven, and to pour contempt upon his authority; that the indulgence to Papists would operate, sooner than was apprehended, the subversion of the state and the ruin of the nation,” &c. To this Mr. Joshua Bangs added amongst other things, that Popery is “not only high treason against the king and the state, but also high treason against the Most High God.” Pp. 6, 8. After all, the ranting fanaticism of these men in all their publications and speeches is not so striking as their consummate impudence in charging Catholics with those principles of sedition and rebellion, (see their Petition to the House of Commons) which they themselves not only taught but also put in practice when it was in their power.]

ciations on the last century.* and particularly on that of the Solemn League and Covenant, which produced the murder of the king, and the subversion of the constitution. The pretext which they held out to the public, whom they loudly called upon to join them, and more particularly the clergy of the metropolis,† was the perservation of the civil constitution and the Protestant religion, by petitioning parliament for a repeal of the late act; but it was plain, from the beginning, that they meant to carry their measure more by intimidation and force, than by humble supplication. In the course of the same year, *An Appeal from the Protestant Association to the People of England* was published and dispersed all over the kingdom, inviting the people to form similar associations in the different counties, and, at the same, to appoint committees for transacting their business, and corresponding with the grand Association in London. Subscriptions were also opened at the houses of three eminent bankers, and at that of Jabes Fisher, the first secretary of the society, for defraying the expences of the grand undertaking.‡ At a general meeting, towards the close of that year, it was unanimously resolved, that “on account of the noble zeal for the Protestant interest, which had distinguished the parliamentary conduct of lord George Gordon, he should be requested to become the president of the Association.§ In consequence of the aforesaid Appeal, various clubs in different parts of the kingdom were formed, on the model of that in London, many of which sent up petitions to parliament, breathing rancour and persecution against their fellow subjects of the Catholic communion, under the pretext of religion and humanity. The 2d of June, in the year 1780, will be ever memorable in the history of this country, for the presentation of the grand petition of London Associators to

* See the above-quoted pamphlet, p. 32.

† See Plan. of Prot. Assoc. Ibid, p. 37.

‡ See Plan, &c. p. 37.

§ See Plan, &c. p. 39.

the House of Commons, by lord George Gordon, containing 44,000 signatures, and being carried thither by a populace consisting of 50,000 men, with flags flying, inscribed NO POPERY, and with ribands of true-blue colour in their hats, emblematic of their cause. It was not, however, to petition parliament in an orderly way that this immense croud was collected together, but to intimidate it. Accordingly the members of both Houses were attacked as they passed through the streets, and required to promise, and, in some instances, to swear that they would vote for the repeal of the Catholic act. From Westminster, on the evening of the same day, the rioters proceeded to the chapels and houses of the Catholics, which they began to burn down and demolish. In short, these dreadful riots continued during the six following days, extending their fatal effects from the property of the Catholics to the prisons, the pay-office, the bank, the palace,* and to almost every other part of the metropolis, and more or less of the whole kingdom.

It is not, Sir, for the purpose of complaint or recrimination that I recal these horrors to your mind, of which you were a spectator, and I, to a certain degree, was a victim,† (though I am well aware what an outcry you would make, if history furnished you with an instance of such a wonton and barbarous persecution of peaceable Protestants by so numerous an association of Catholics;) this, I say, is not my present object, but bareley to illustrate the history of former persecutions by those which have passed under our own eyes, and to exhibit, as in a mirror, the canting hypocrisy, the counterfeit patriotism, the unrelenting

[* Viz. Buckingham-house, which was threatened by a very large and daring mob.]

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† The managers of the Association foreseeing the consequences of assembling together so large a body of people, or rather intending from the beginning all the mischief that ensued, concerted beforehand the means of throwing the blame of the riots upon those very persons against whom they were directed. With this view, they distributed a hand-bill amongst their partisans, as they were collecting in St. George's Field's hypocritically pretending that there was "great reason to believe a great number of Papists would assemble, with the intent of breeding a riot at the peaceable and lawful meeting of the Protestants to attend their worthy president, lord G. Gordon; therefore all Protestants were requested to be patient, and not to resent any insult, &c." See *Strictures, &c.* also *Political Mag.* for June 1789, &c.

‡ "It was a preconcerted scheme to bring an odium on the Protestant Association.....Papists destroyed two chapels of foreign ministers, (the Sardinian and Bavarian) and attempted to charge innocent persons with the crime." Wesley's *Strict.* p. 63. The same writer equally accuses the Catholics of burning down the chapel in Moorfields, and Newgate prison, and

the House of Commons, by lord George Gordon, containing 44,000 signatures, and being carried thither by a populace consisting of 50,000 men, with flags flying, inscribed NO POPERY, and with ribands of true-blue colour in their hats, emblematic of their cause. It was not, however, to petition parliament in an orderly way that this immense croud was collected together, but to intimidate it. Accordingly the members of both Houses were attacked as they passed through the streets, and required to promise, and, in some instances, to swear that they would vote for the repeal of the Catholic act. From Westminster, on the evening of the same day, the rioters proceeded to the chapels and houses of the Catholics, which they began to burn down and demolish. In short, these dreadful riots continued during the six following days, extending their fatal effects from the property of the Catholics to the prisons, the pay-office, the bank, the palace,* and to almost every other part of the metropolis, and more or less of the whole kingdom.

It is not, Sir, for the purpose of complaint or re-crimination that I recal these horrors to your mind, of which you were a spectator, and I, to a certain degree, was a victim,† (though I am well aware what an outcry you would make, if history furnished you with an instance of such a wonton and barbarous persecution of peaceable Protestants by so numerous an association of Catholics;) this, I say, is not my present object, but bareley to illustrate the history of former persecutions by those which have passed under our own eyes, and to exhibit, as in a mirror, the canting hypocrisy, the counterfeit patriotism, the unrelenting

[* Viz. Buckingham-house, which was threatened by a very large and daring mob.]

† Having received incendiary letters, and being indebted for protection to a strong military guard. Though no Catholics were put to death by the rioters, yet a very considerable number of them, particularly women and sick persons, lost their lives by the terrors and agitation of mind which they endured in being driven from their homes, and hunted from place to place.

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courts of justice.* In conclusion, this Corresponding Protestant Society seems to have transformed itself into the *Corresponding Society for Political information*; and

of attacking the Bank, &c. pp. 65, 68. "One of the rioters shot in Fleet-market proves to be a Roman Catholic. Three men shot in Cornhill (at the attack of the bank) prove to be of the same religion, one of whom appears to be a noted Jesuit, who has resided in this kingdom for many years." *Polit. Mag.* for June 1780, p. 246. Also Wesley's *Strict.* p. 68.—It is a greater trial of patience to be insulted with these unblushing calumnies, than to be exposed to such wanton and cruel persecutions. N. B. John Wesley's name is not affixed to the *Strictures* here quoted, but only the initial *W.* There is however, good reason, from that preacher's connections with the Association, from the stile of the work, and other evidence, to believe it to be his composition.

* Such was the defence set up by lord G. Gordon, Mascall the apothecary, and other leaders of the Protestant Association, at their trials. See the printed account of these trials. Though it may seem unnecessary to refute such absurd as well as impudent falsehoods, yet I cannot forbear, in opposition to these, mentioning the few following particulars. It was sworn upon the trial of lord G. G. that at the meeting of the Association at Coachmaker's Hall, May 29, 1780, his lordship declared, "I will not present your petition to the house of commons if there be one man short of 20,000 to attend me on the occasion,"—(though he must have known that it was illegal and criminal, as lord Mansfield told him, for more than ten persons to present any petition or address to the legislature. Indeed he had before boasted in his seat in parliament, March 10, that he had 100,000 men at his back) he added, at the same time, "I will not present the petition of a lukewarm people.....there is no danger you mean to go into, which I will not share, for I am ready to go to the gallows for the Protestant cause..... you know the Scots carried their point by their firmness :"—N. B. They had a year or two before demolished the Catholic chapel and houses in Edinburgh. On the 2d of June, when the petition was presented, the said president of the Association reminded the crowd in one of his frequent visits to them from the House, that "the Scotch obtained no redress until they pulled down the Mass Houses." A few hours afterwards the Sardinian and Bavarian chapels were in flames. In confirmation of the rioters being at his command, a protection in his hand-writing for the house of one R. Pound was produced, purporting, that all true Protestants should spare that, as one be-

its honourable president, who had professed such ardent zeal for the Protestant religion and the welfare of his country, soon after abjured the name of Christ, becoming a proselyte to Judaism, and ended his life in Newgate a prisoner for sedition. After all, Sir, the riots served to purge away the black bile of many bitter enemies of Catholics, and to open the eyes of others, who were of a more liberal turn, to the real characters both of the persecuted and the persecutors. Hence the wise and beneficent act of toleration, which passed in 1791, met with no enemies in parliament, and with very few out of it. It was indeed thought expedient to throw out a tub to the leviathan of vulgar prejudice, by requiring the Catholics once more to abjure a number of wicked and absurd doctrines which

longing to a true friend of the cause." It was further proved upon oath, that the same man who bore the blue flag in St. George's Fields and at Westminster on Friday, June 2d, bore it on the subsequent Wednesday at the burning of the Fleet prison; in short, the emblem, the watch-word, and every other distinctive mark of the Protestant Association, accompanied the rioters from their first collection in St. George's Fields, until their final suppression by the military a week afterwards. I must add, that the language and conduct of many of the rioters after their apprehension and condemnation shews the unhappy principle on which they had acted. In particular, Bateman, who was executed in Coleman-street, for destroying the house of Mr. Charlton, a Catholic druggist, situated in the said street, wore his blue cockade in the cart, and publicly boasted that he died a *martyr* to the Protestant religion.

Dr. S. has added a note concerning these riots, p. 253, in which he says, "I wish this disinclination (to Popery) to continue, but applied to the religion not the persons (of Papists). Mr. M. cannot detest a mob of 50,000 fanatic Protestants with lord G. G. at their head more heartily than I do." To this I answer, that when John Wesley and his disciples preached up their crusade against Popery in 1779, I am persuaded they had not in contemplation those violences against the Catholics, and those general tumults which ensued from their declamations. On the other hand, I maintain that those very enthusiasts were not guilty of uttering more calumnious or inflammatory language against the Catholics than is contained in some of those passages which I have quoted from my adversary's publications.]

they had never held. In this, and in the whole business of their emancipation, they were assisted by the talents and virtues of several of the greatest and best men of whom this nation can boast ; and more particularly by that illustrious character, to whom it was principally indebted at a certain crisis for its salvation from that precipice of anarchy, on the brink of which it hung. It may be permitted me, now that he is no more, to proclaim how much the Catholics, and especially that portion of them in whose concerns I was employed, were indebted on that occasion to the wisdom, experience, and exertions of the immortal Edmund Burke. Those respectable characters also who have been mentioned above, are entitled to all the merit which you ascribe to them, and you yourself, Sir, I recollect, shewed a liberality of mind at that time which I have always acknowledged with pleasure. *What hath fascinated you* to trace back steps which did you so much honour. and to force me from being your panegyrist, to become your adversary ?

I have the honour, &c.

POSTSCRIPT TO LETTER VII.

[The necessity I have been under of answering the objections of my opponent, who attempts to justify the continued persecution to which the English Catholics were subject for more than two centuries, by their history during that period, has obliged me to give a general sketch of the said history, from the enacting of the first penal laws under Elizabeth, down to the abrogation of the greater part of them, in the 32d year of his present majesty's reign : which sketch I hope to see perfected by some person of sufficient talents, industry and leisure for the undertaking. It has been seen how widely both my premises and my conclusions differ from those of Dr. S. and a crowd of writers, who, partaking of the general prejudices, and blindly following one another, have essentially contri-

buted to keep up that spirit of persecution against the professors of the ancient religion, which a full and candid exposition of the events related by them would have greatly abated, if not finally extinguished. Thus much is certain, that my account of them every where rests upon the most undeniable proofs, and that it has passed the ordeal of my adversary's criticism, in the second edition of his *Reflections*, without his being able to disprove a single article in it. To be brief, I have undertaken, in opposition to Dr. S. judge Blackstone,* and other late writers, to demonstrate from clear historical evidence, that the Catholics did not draw upon themselves the severe treatment they met with, by their disloyalty, or their misconduct in any respect; but that this is to be accounted for purely from political intrigues. popular turbulence, and fanaticism, the misrepresentations of the pulpit and the press, and the general intolerance of the times.

In my former letter I have shewn that Elizabeth was actuated by an interested and hereditary policy in declaring against the church, whose faith and discipline she most approved in her mind. Her ministers, who spurred her on to acts of cruelty, were influenced by similar motives.—Their fortunes were made up of church spoils, which they well knew they must resign, together with their offices, in case the Catholic heir were to succeed to the crown. Add to this, that Leicester, whose power amongst them was almost despotic, was the paramour of his sovereign, and aspired to be her husband.† To him of course the queen of Scots and her Catholic partisans were objects of peculiar jealousy and hatred. In short, to this policy of the court (not however without a certain proportion of the other causes mentioned above) is to be attributed the beginning of the persecution against Catholics. For as to the civil conduct of that body, at the period in question, I have demonstrated it to have been meritorious beyond all example and all praise, particularly

* Commentaries on the Laws, b. iv. c. 4.

† Camden, *Anal. Eliz.*

on those great occasions, when it was chiefly put to the test, namely at the accession of Elizabeth; in the Northern rebellion, at the publication of the deposing bull, and at the approach of the Spanish armada. Indeed thus much is generally allowed by my adversary himself.

The present letter opens with the display of a fresh political intrigue for the oppression of Catholics, concerning which I have shewn how grossly the public, has with the same view, been imposed upon by the generality of writers. They have been taught to believe that, the body of English Catholics was implicated in the gunpowder plot; whereas I have proved, that not more than thirteen of that body (if those can be said to belong to it, who had actually conformed to the established church) were guilty of any share in it; that only seven of these were acquainted with the worst part of it; and that the first Catholic of any respectability to whom it was communicated, immediately made it known to government. The nation has been industriously taught, that it was brought to the very brink of ruin by the aforesaid plot, and that it was only saved from it by the more than human sagacity of the king in explaining Monteagle's letter, and by an extraordinary interposition of Providence in the discovery of the barrels of gunpowder under the parliament-house. a few hours before they were to have been fired; whereas I have proved that this was an express contrivance of the secretary of state, for the purpose of producing the greater effect upon the king and the nation. I have adduced moral evidence that this crafty minister contrived, or at least guided, the conspiracy from the very beginning of it, by his emissary Tresham, (who also wrote by his orders the anonymous letter to his brother-in-law lord Monteagle) and I have absolutely demonstrated from his own confession, that he and his fellow ministers perfectly well understood the meaning of the said letter as soon as it was put into their hands, that is to say, ten days before the intended meeting of parliament, and that it was then agreed upon amongst them not to look for

the gunpowder until just before that time. Hence we see that reference of the letter to the king's superior wisdom was a mere farce, and that the parliament was not in the least danger of destruction, unless the ministry itself had consented to that measure. Lastly, I have exposed the folly and inconsistency of those invectives, which, like that of my adversary, describe this conspiracy as being in its kind unparalleled in history: whereas I have proved that the plan of it was evidently drawn from a Protestant gunpowder plot in Scotland, contrived and executed a few years before by the leaders and founders of the Reformation in that country, by means of which a Catholic king, the father of James I, was actually blown up as he lay in his bed, with all his family. This account of the powder plot, which places it in so different a light from that in which Dr. S. with the generality of other writers exhibit it, this gentleman has not thought proper to contest in a single particular; nevertheless he continues to justify the aggravated persecution which the whole Catholic body suffered in consequence of it.

With respect to the unexampled loyalty of the Catholics, in defence of the king and constitution during the civil wars, this was so conspicuous that my adversary, with many other writers equally unfriendly to them, is forced to bear testimony to it. The truth however is, that no writer of any description whatsoever, has yet done justice to it. In fact, they shed much more blood and impoverished themselves to a much greater degree by their heroic exertions in this cause, than was the consequence of all the persecuting laws that were enacted against them under the revolting pretext of their being bad subjects. The case is much the same with respect to the following reign, that of Charles II. I have shewn in what manner the old expedient of entangling the Catholics in plots against the state was resorted to by their enemies, whose enmity after all was not so much inflamed by the religion of Catholics, as by their loyalty. It was then fatally proved, that nothing was too wicked or too absurd to gain credit, which tended to crimina-

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the gunpowder until just before that time. Hence we see that reference of the letter to the king's superior wisdom was a mere farce, and that the parliament was not in the least danger of destruction, unless the ministry itself had consented to that measure. Lastly, I have exposed the folly and inconsistency of those invectives, which, like that of my adversary, describe this conspiracy as being in its kind unparalleled in history: whereas I have proved that the plan of it was evidently drawn from a Protestant gunpowder plot in Scotland, contrived and executed a few years before by the leaders and founders of the Reformation in that country, by means of which a Catholic king, the father of James I, was actually blown up as he lay in his bed, with all his family. This account of the powder plot, which places it in so different a light from that in which Dr. S. with the generality of other writers exhibit it, this gentleman has not thought proper to contest in a single particular; nevertheless he continues to justify the aggravated persecution which the whole Catholic body suffered in consequence of it.

With respect to the unexampled loyalty of the Catholics, in defence of the king and constitution during the civil wars, this was so conspicuous that my adversary, with many other writers equally unfriendly to them, is forced to bear testimony to it. The truth however is, that no writer of any description whatsoever, has yet done justice to it. In fact, they shed much more blood and impoverished themselves to a much greater degree by their heroical exertions in this cause, than was the consequence of all the persecuting laws that were enacted against them under the revolting pretext of their being bad subjects. The case is much the same with respect to the following reign, that of Charles II. I have shewn in what manner the old expedient of entangling the Catholics in plots against the state was resorted to by their enemies, whose enmity after all was not so much inflamed by the religion of Catholics, as by their loyalty. It was then fatally proved, that nothing was too wicked or too absurd to gain credit, which tended to crimina-

nate this devoted people. The reality of Oates's ridiculous plot was voted by the legislature, in consequence of which a torrent of innocent blood was poured out, and new penal laws, such as never had been resorted to in the height of Elizabeth's persecution, were enacted, by virtue of which the Catholic nobility were excluded from their hereditary honours, and the Catholics in general were rendered incapable of serving their country either in the legislature or in the field. Dr. S. dares not deny, nor dares any man of information and credit deny, that the whole of what is called the Popish plot was a most infamous and savage conspiracy of the enemies of Catholics against their lives and fortunes, such as no age or country has witnessed before. Yet Dr. S. no less than Mr. Reeves,* defends the disability imposed upon Catholics in consequence of it ! He may indeed defend them if he will, but does he justify them, as he professes to do, from the records of genuine history ?

After the Revolution, the Catholics had literally nothing but their virtue to support them. They were destitute of friends in every quarter. I have accordingly shewn, by a remarkable incident in king William's reign, to what a degree they were the victims of wanton persecution, whilst the Whigs and the Tories contended, in pure spite to each other, which should afflict the Papasits most. I have concluded with a short account of the riots of 1780, chiefly for the purpose of displaying the real character, as subjects and as christians, of the professed enemies of the Catholics. The whole of my historical dissertation is a vindication of his majesty's government, and the present legislature, as it tends to shew that the relief afforded to this persecuted people by the act of 1778 and 1791, was equally founded in justice and in wisdom.]

* See his Considerations on the Coronation Oath. See also The Case of Conscience solved, in answer to the Considerations of John Reeves, esq. by the author of this work—Faulder.

LETTER VIII.

SIR,

I Come now to the most important charge, or at least that which has produced the greatest sensation in this city, amongst all those which have been brought against **THE CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF WINCHESTER**; I mean the censure which I have passed on its famous prelate Hoadly.* Had I left this celebrated champion of liberty and the low church unmolested, I have reason to believe, that all the disrespectful things, which I am accused of saying against other eminent or favourite characters, would not have procured me the honour of your public notice. I most unfeignedly respect and applaud your gratitude to a benefactor, who cannot now bestow any further favours upon you. In return, Sir, I hope you will give me credit for the uprightness of my motives in the disapprobation which I have expressed, and must ever continue to express, of the theological principles which this able writer was chiefly instrumental in propagating throughout the nation. As an individual I can have no private pique against an eminent man, with whom I never had the most distant relation, and whose endowments and manners, I make no doubt, were as commendable and amiable as you have represented them. As a writer I cannot but respect a personage, who not only supported the cause of literature by his own learned and acute writings, but also by the patronage which he afforded to men of genius and application, of which you, Sir, are a living proof. As a Catholic, even it will appear improbable that I should be displeased with an author who has given such evident advantages to the religion which I defend, and has eventually proved, that the professors of it are entitled not only to an exception from penal laws of every sort, but also to the honours and emoluments of the states. Yes, Sir, it is an incontestable

* Vol. i, p. 445. vol. ii, p. 32.

fact, that bishop Hoadly has surrendered a great part of those leading points of controversy, in proving which against Protestants, the Catholic authors of the two preceding centuries have loaded the library shelves. Your most learned and able writers have seen and lamented the event.* On the other hand, this prelate carried his principles of toleration so far as to declare, in times of great religious acrimony, that even Catholics could not be excluded from civil offices on any pretext, except that of disaffection to government.† Now, Sir, this pretext being formally surrendered by you,‡ and effectually done away by the acts of the legislature itself, it follows, that a mere principle of self-interest would lead me to raise Hoadly's authority to the highest point possible. I say nothing of the advantage to be derived from yielding to the current, and supporting the popular side of a question, by every writer who is desirous of gaining applause. You will ask, what then is the motive of my opposition to this celebrated writer? I answer, a regard for the general interests of Christianity, and for the peace and welfare of the community. If I cannot persuade Christians to admit that living speaking tribunal in the pastors of the universal church, which I conceive to be as necessary for preserving it in peace and unity, as

* "Your lordship tells Dr. Snape, that he sayeth and unsayeth, to the great diversion of the Roman Catholics. But if your lordship would unsay some things you have said, it would be a greater mortification to them than all that ever you said or writ in your whole life. To deny the necessity of any particular communion, to expose the validity of the sacraments, and rally on the uninterrupted succession of the priests, and pull down every pillar in the church of Christ, is an errand on which Rome hath sent many a messenger." W. Law, in his Answer to the bishop of Bangor's (Hoadly's Sermon, p. 17—The New Biographical Dict. says with truth, that Hoadly's "ablest opponent was the celebrated William Law, who in many points may be said to have gained a complete victory."

† "I cannot justify the exclusion of a Papist from civil offices on any account but that of his open avowed enmity to civil government, as now settled in this land." Hoadly's Common Right of Subjects.

‡ See p. 23.

the living speaking tribunals of judges and magistrates are proved to be for the safety of the state, I wish to prevent them from frittering away their religion, and launching into that latitudinarianism, with which Hoadly has been so generally and justly reproached;* being persuaded that this is the direct and short road to the philosophic incredulity of modern times. If they will not be good Catholics, I am desirous that they should remain good Church-of-England-men, being convinced that thereby the sacred code of Revelation will be much less violated, and the public peace and happiness much more effectually secured.

Before I enter upon the present question, I must make the following observations. First, it is not my intention to refute the doctrines of Hoadly by arguments drawn from scripture, or from any other theological source, but barely to contrast them with the articles and liturgy of the church of England, and my objects in this is not so much to justify the expression in my HISTORY,† which has been the source of your opposition to me and the religion I profess, as to demonstrate the fact itself, to which that assertion relates, for the purpose of opposing the further progress of incredulity, and of guarding our common

* It is well known, that a representation was drawn up by a committee of the lower house of convocation against bishop Hoadly's Sermon of March 1717, and his Preservative, in which these works are described as "tending to subvert all government and discipline in the church of Christ, and to reduce it to a state of anarchy and confusion, and as making void those powers with which he himself was vested, and which he was bound to exercise in conferring orders, inflicting censures," &c. This representation was to have been carried up to the prelates in the higher house: when the ministry of that day, in tenderness to their favourite bishop, caused the convocation to be dissolved, which has never been allowed to proceed to any business since. If the bishop did not procure this measure, he at least approved of it, as proceeding from "a sincere regard to the constitution in church and state." See Hoadly's Preface and Answer to the Represent. ch. iv.

† "Thus it may be said with truth of Dr. Hoadly, that both living and dying he undermined the church of which he was a prelate." Vol. ii, p. 32.

country against the evils to be apprehended from it. 2dly, I shall not take the unnecessary pains of tracing this system in the voluminous works of Hoadly himself, through all the ambiguities, disguises, and contradictions, which his rank in the church, and the opposition of his able opponents obliged him to adopt, in order to palliate it; since I find it exhibited in a more concise, open, and systematical manner by two of his most illustrious disciples; than whom none can be better qualified by their talents and situation, fully to comprehend it, and accurately to explain it. I shall therefore make much more use, in the present discussion, of the writings of the scholars than of those of the master. There are other reasons for my following this conduct. One of the respectable characters whom I allude to, is still living, and in possession of every advantage necessary for defending his opinions, unless he should prefer the more honourable part of retracting them upon discovering their falsehood and pernicious tendency. This gentleman has adopted and made his own the publication of the other, which I shall have occasion to refer to. In a word, he is no other than my present opponent, the very person who has taken such uncommon pains to exhibit me to the nation as a writer that has weakened the establishment in church and state.* It will now be seen which of us two is more deserving of this character. The points on which I shall contrast the plain doctrines of the Establishment with those of Hoadlyism are, the Nature and Form of the Church, the Sacraments, the Christian Mysteries, and the Assent and Subscription that are required to the xxxix Articles and the Book of Common Prayer.

1. The nature of the church is particularly described in the xxth of the above mentioned articles, as follows: "The visible church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly ministered." The xxviii article asserts, that "men are grafted in-

* Reflections on Popery, pp. 6, 111, &c.

to the church by *baptism*, as by an instrument," and the whole liturgy of this sacrament, in the Common Prayer Book, is grounded upon that doctrine.* Again, the xxxiii article teaches, that a person may, "by open denunciation of the church, be rightly cut off from the unity of the church and excommunicated," in which case "he ought to be taken of the whole multitude as an heathen and publican—until he be received into the church by a judge which hath authority thereunto." It is needless to add, that the sentence of excommunication is strictly conformable to this doctrine.† Finally, the xviii article goes so far as to pronounce, that "they are to be had accursed who presume to say that every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law, and the light of nature."

With respect to the authority and constitution of the church, she claims, in her articles, not only "the power to decree rites and ceremonies," but also "authority in controversies of faith."‡ She teaches, that the orders of her ministers have descended from the apostles, and are appointed by God;§ and that the power given to them in the ceremony of ordination is

* Before baptism the minister prays, that the person to be baptized, whether a child or one of riper years, "may be received into the ark of Christ's church. Immediately as he pours the water he says, "We receive this child (or person) into the congregation of Christ's flock." In conclusion he thanks God for having "adopted and incorporated him into his church." See the Common Prayer Book.

[† "Idcirco hoc etiam vos insuper admonitos volo Episcopum nostrum nomine, atque auctoritate Dei optimi maximi excommunicasse illum ab omni societate ecclesiæ Dei, et tanquam membrum emortuum amputasse a Christi corpore. Hoc ille in statu versatur hoc tempore, et in tanto discrimine animæ suæ." *Form. Excom.* apud Sparrow. *Collect.* p. 247.] Similar to this in meaning is that of the kirk of Scotland and other reformed communions. See the sentence of deposition and excommunication against the four Scotch bishops for receiving consecration to the office of episcopacy. *Collier*, vol. ii, rec. 113.

‡ Art. xx.

§ See the prayers appointed in the form of ordaining, &c.

communicated by the Holy Ghost;* moreover, that the form of episcopacy is divine and essentially necessary to her existence. In proof of this we observe, 1st, that it is required by the act of Uniformity† that no person shall be allowed to hold any living who has not received episcopal ordination; though, from the confusion which had prevailed in the kingdom for almost twenty years before the passing of the act, this had been impracticable with respect to the generality of the officiating ministers: 2dly, that the practice of the Church of England ever has been to admit the ordination of the Catholic clergy, and of others ordained by bishops, who have passed over to her communion, but to reject that of Dissenting ministers of every class, whether natives or foreigners, to whom this hath been wanting.‡

* The order of priesthood is conferred in the following words of scripture agreeably to the Roman Pontifical: *Receive the Holy Ghost; whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained.* St. John xx, 22, 23. The form of consecrating bishops is: *Receive the Holy Ghost, and remember to stir up the grace that has been given you by the imposition of hands.* Burnet, Hist. Ref. tom. ii, Sparrow. In addition to the spiritual powers mentioned above, which are claimed by the Church of England, must be added that of absolving from sin, expressed in the form of ordination of priests, unless the greatest perversion of language, and that upon the most solemn occasion, be supposed. In confirmation of this assertion, the reader may consult the *Warning for the Celebration of the Communion*, in the Common Prayer Book, where such as cannot otherwise quiet their consciences, are directed to come to the minister, “in order to receive the benefit of absolution.” This is more clearly inculcated in the *Order for the Visitation of the Sick*. “Here shall the sick person be moved to make a special confession of his sins, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter. After which confession the priest shall absolve him in this sort: “—Our Lord, who hath left power in his church to absolve sinners, &c. forgive thee, and I by his authority, committed to me, absolve thee from all thy sins.” N. B. This is the identical form of absolution used in the Catholic church.

† 13 & 14 Car. II, c. 4.

‡ Collier, vol. ii, p. 619. Strype's Life of Whitgift. The suffragan of this archbishop, viz. Aylmer, bishop of London, condemned the puritan minister Wright for preaching, as being

In opposition to these tenets, Hoadly himself defines a church to be "the number of persons, whether great or small, whether dispersed or united, who are sincerely and willingly subjects to Christ alone, as to a lawgiver and judge, in matters relating to the favour of God and eternal salvation."* According to this definition, neither purity of doctrine, nor the right administration of the sacraments, is necessary to constitute the church of Christ but only a general disposition to be subject to Christ, which every heretic and fanatic, however impious or extravagant, from Simon Magus down to John of Leyden, David George, and the Swedenborgians of the present day,† has professed equally with Dr. Hoadly. In conformity with this latitudinarian tenet, which tends to render men indifferent about all religious doctrines and practices whatever, and to make them ground their title to God's favour

only a layman, though he was ordained in a foreign church.—Hist. of Churches in Eng. and Scotl. vol ii, p. 234. In 1661, episcopacy being restored in Scotland, four ministers in Presbyterian orders were nominated bishops for that country, and sent to be consecrated by the bishop of Winchester and other assistant prelates in England. These required that they should not only previously be re-ordained, but also that they should disclaim the validity of their Presbyterian ordination. Collier, vol. ii, p. 887.—The importance that has been attached by the established clergy to the controversy concerning the Lambeth Register of Archbishop Parker's Consecration, from the time of Mason, 200 years ago, down to that of Courayer, within our own memory, may be also alledged in proof of the Church of England's opinion concerning the necessity of regular and uninterrupted succession in the sacred ministry from Christ and his apostles. [I need not hence prove that according to her doctrine the character of the priesthood and of deaconship is indelible.]

* Serm. March 31, 1717.

† The first mentioned of these was an enthusiastic Anabaptist who made himself king of Munster, and committed the greatest extravagancies and horrors. See p. 263. The second was of the same religion, and pretended to be the successor of the Messiah, and the nephew of God. Hist. Reform. Païs Bas, vol. i. [The last mentioned sectaries affirm that the great day of retribution passed imperceptibly some half dozen years ago, and that we are now in the heavenly Jerusalem, &c.]

upon a pretended sincerity of mind, (which, in fact, those are destitute of, who neglect carefully to examine and practice what he teaches and commands) Hoadly asserts in express terms, that every one may "find it in his own conduct to be true, that his title to God's favour cannot depend on his actual being or continuing in any particular method (*of religion,*) but in his real sincerity in the conduct of his conscience."* It is evidently impossible to reconcile with these tenets the belief of an authority in the clergy of any description to admit persons into the church by baptism, or to exclude them from it by excommunication. Nor can it be, in this system, of the smallest consequence whether the pastors derive their ministry in a regular line from the apostles, or from any other appointment whatsoever. Accordingly he instructs his royal and noble audience, "When they are secure of their integrity before God, —not to be afraid of the terrors of men, or the vain words of regular and uninterrupted successions,† Authoritative benedictions, excommunications,—nullity or validity of God's ordinances on account of niceties and trifles, and any other the like dreams."‡

I need not mention that the late Dr. Thomas Balguy is the disciple of Hoadly alluded to above, whose sentiments on church authority you adopt with so much warmth, as to declare, that "this subject has been treated by him in his Discourses, with a precision of thought and correctness of reasoning almost peculiar to the author."§ His definition of a church is still more extensive than that of Hoadly, and applies not

* Preservative, &c.

† It is true that H. has written *A brief Defence of Episcopal Ordination*, by way of persuading the Dissenters to unite with the established church. But, in conformity with his general principles, he says in this very treatise, "I cannot argue that episcopacy is essential to a Christian church because it is of apostolical institution."

‡ Preservative. [See also Sermon on Superstition, preached March 23, 1717, in which he declaims most energetically against "representing God to be delighted with trifles or reconciled by follies."]

§ Reflections, p. 22.

only to all Christians, but likewise to the greater part of Pagans. In his principles "a church is a number of persons agreeing to unite in public assemblies, for the performance of religious duties."* According to this definition, we may speak with propriety of the church of Diana of Ephesus, of the church of Jupiter Capitolinus, and of the church of Venus of Paphos, to which in fact the greater part, if not the whole of this dissertation, that you so much admire, is as applicable as it is to the church of England, or to any other Christian church whatsoever. He proceeds to ask, in the next page to that which I have quoted, "Why men should meet at all for the performance of religious duties ?† And it appears, that he is totally unacquainted with any institution or appointment of Christ to this effect, in regard to his followers ; for he answers the question solely on the ground of human arguments and apparent expediency. He is equally destitute of any convincing arguments, from *revelation* or *tradition*, to prove the necessity of religious pastors or ministers of any description whatsoever ; for he can discover nothing more than that it is "highly *expedient* if *not absolutely necessary*, that the offices of religion should be committed to some certain persons, and regulated in some certain manner."‡ Thus far however he is convinced that "to what persons these are to be committed, and in what manner performed, the society itself must judge, or appoint others to judge for them."§ This is as much as to say, that Christians are left to decide according to their own judgment or inclinations, whether they will be governed by presbyters or bishops ; whether they will have men to officiate for them, or women, as the Collyridians had ;** whether the public worship shall con-

* Discourses on Various Subjects, by Thomas Balguy, D. D. Archdeacon and Prebendary of Winchester, &c. dedicated to the king, 1785, Disc. vi, on Church Authority, p. 89.

† P. 90.

‡ P. 90.

§ P. 91.

** An obscure society of female heretics in the fourth century, mentioned by St. Epiphanius. In like manner the office

sist in prayer, or in dancing and public games, as was the case in a great measure amongst the heathens of Greece and Rome. These points being thus settled, Dr. Balguy pronounces, that "we have here the first sketch of what may be called church authority. For a power in the society of appointing its ministres, implies an exclusion of others from the ministerial office. In like manner, a power in the society of prescribing the forms of its public offices, implies an exclusion of all others."* In conformity with this doctrine, so far from teaching that excommunication renders a person like a heathen or a publican, he makes it consist in nothing more than in declaring the incapacity of any person to remain in a certain society ;"† and he signifies, that as the community retains its authority over its ministers, so "it may take away what it has given," viz. the power and character of ecclesiastical ministry."‡

Dr. B. next informs us, that a religious society or church may exercise their pretended church authority, "either collectively, (that is to say by democratic assemblies) or they may commit it, if they please, and as much as they please, to representatives (for example to bishops ;) nay, that they may very properly commit the executive part of it to a single person," (for example to a king.) In short, he says, "Various forms of government may be assigned, any one of which would be sufficient for the ends proposed of appointing ministers, of prescribing forms, and of enforcing obedience."§ He then points out the expediency, when a number of congregations have freely, and by their own choice, united to form a church, of exercising their essential powers by representatives, and concludes, that as in civil societies, even of the freest kind, however the people may have reserved to

of the vestal virgins, and of the priestesses of Apollo, proves that women formed part of the public ministry of ancient Paganism.

* P. 94.

† P. 94.

‡ P. 94 and p. 99.

§ P. 95.

themselves the supreme legislative authority, yet the ordinary administration of government is committed either to a prince or a senate ; so by a like delegation of power, either single men, or small bodies of men, may and must be authorised to govern the church.*

If this doctrine be true, what becomes of the grace communicated in the sacraments ? Can a popular assembly confer the power of administering this ? I know that the Hoadlyites deny the existence of such sacramental grace, but I also know that the Church of England maintains it. Again, what an empty farce, in this case, is the boast of a regular succession in the clergy, the doctrine concerning the necessity of their being ordained by bishops, and the liturgy in which the spirit of God is said to be communicated in this ordination !† For it is as clear as the noontide light, that in Dr. Balguy's system, a deacon, a priest or a bishop may as well and as validly be ordained by a justice of the peace, or by the town crier, with the mere help of his bell, if the people either collectively, or through their representatives determine that it shall be so, as by the primate and the whole bench of bishops. And what is the cause of this strange departure from the doctrine of the establishment, and of all Christian antiquity, and for the invention and propagation of such an unheard-of and incoherent system ? It is evidently for the purpose of introducing Hoadly's favourite doctrine of Whigism‡ into the church, as well as into the state ; to make all power, ecclesiastical as well as civil, center in the people ; and, by destroying all pretensions in the pastors to any degree of authority from Christ, to found a mere philosophic system of natural religion, such as Hoadlyism actually is.

* P. 97.

[† See the form of ordaining priests and bishops, in Sparrow's Collection, pp. 158, 164, 4th ed.]

‡ I will here transcribe a note from Dr. S. to prove that greater and abler men than I am, at the present day, see Hoadly's character in the same point of view that I do. "He (Hoadly) did not deserve for this to be called *the Republican bishop* by bishop Horsley, in a note p. 12, of a sermon preached before the House of Lords, Jan. 30, 1793." Reflect. p. 98.

But you will probably ask, if Dr. Balguy has not admitted that the Christian church has a divine origin, and that it derives its authority from God ; and if you yourself have not taken care to quote that passage in your Reflections, p. 20 ? I grant, Sir, that you have both taken the precaution of adding the words which I shall insert in the note below,* by way of stifling the complaints which you had reason to expect from a too open disclosure of your system. But this stratagem of literary warfare is easily counteracted by any person of ordinary talents who has made that system his study. For, 1st, if it be the people, who by a delegation of their power, authorise single men, or small bodies of men, to govern the church ; and if they are at liberty “to exercise church authority themselves collectively, or to commit it, in case they please and as much as they please, to representatives,” there is evidently no room left for that kind of jurisdiction, derived from Christ and his apostles, which is universally understood by the terms, *divine authority* of the church. Secondly, we gather from

* “But it may not be improper to obviate an objection, which may seem to strike at the very foundation of the doctrine here advanced. It will be urged perhaps, that I have considered a church as an institution merely human, whereas the Christian church derives its authority from God. This will be readily admitted ; but the divinity of its origin is a circumstance of no moment in the present inquiry. For there is not the least reason to presume that the founders of our holy religion intended it to be governed by any rules, or on any principles, opposite to those which nature and reason prescribe. They appointed indeed ministers and officers of religion : it was scarce possible for any religion to subsist without them. They established a church government : for the church must be governed *in some form*, or there could be no government. But their directions to us are for the most part very general. Even their example must be cautiously urged in different circumstances. In this one point they are clear and explicit, that authority once established must be obeyed.” P. 104. We may observe the author admits, that the objection here stated “seems to strike at the very foundation of this doctrine” on church authority.—Whether or no he has answered that objection, the learned reader will judge by what I have said in the text above.

this passage, (what is more clearly expressed in others) that our author considers the *authority* of the church to be no otherwise *divine*, than in as much as it is in the will of God that the church like the state, should be regulated according to the principles of nature and reason; and in like manner the *origin* of the church to be no otherwise *divine*, than that the apostles did model the church in some certain form, and appoint some certain officers to continue during their own life time; in as much as no institution can subsist without *some shape*, nor last, even for a short time, without *some ministers*. But both Dr. B. and yourself plainly tell us, that the apostles have given no rule to be followed by subsequent ages in these particulars, and that of course we are now left at full liberty, either to continue their method of public worship and church government, or to adopt any other that we may think will suit our circumstances better. That the passage under consideration is destitute of that precision for which you praise the dissertation in general, is evident to every reader, and the circumstance is easily accounted for; but that I give a faithful exposition of the author's meaning will be still plainer from what follows.

In his second Consecration Sermon your learned friend, overlooking the text of scripture appointed in the liturgy for the occasion then present,* and the final commission of Christ to his apostles,† can find no stronger ground in scripture for building church authority upon than this: "submit yourselves to every ordinance of *man* for the Lord's sake."‡ Accordingly he sets out with asserting, that there is "the *same reason* for submitting to *ecclesiastical* as to *civil* ordinances;"§ namely, because "the benefits of so-

* Receive ye the Holy Ghost. St. John, xx, 22. See the Form of Consecrating Bishops. Sparrow's Collect. p. 164.—N. B. This Sermon was preached at the consecration of Dr. Hurd for Worcester, and of the late primate, Dr. Moore, for Bangor.

† St. Mat. xxviii, 9, 28. St. John, xx, 21, &c.

‡ 1 Pet. ii, 13.

§ P. 110.

ciety cannot be obtained without submission to public authority, and that God having made us social beings, wills us to discharge the essential duties of society ;” but he says, that “the particular manner in which this authority is to be constituted, whether it is to be vested in single men, or in general assemblies, these are points left to human prudence :” * in short, that “supernatural direction being withdrawn, the guides of religion are ordained of men.” This is just as much as to say : it is the will of God that religious as well as civil societies should organize themselves in some manner, so as to secure the benefits of peace and order amongst themselves. Whilst the supernatural guides, the apostles, were living, it was necessary to retain the episcopal form of church government which they established ; but as soon as Timothy and Titus, and the rest of the bishops ordained by these apostles, were no more, there was no obligation of obeying any bishops whom the said Timothy, Titus, &c had consecrated, but the people were at liberty to form ecclesiastical monarchies, or aristocracies, or democracies, accordingly as human prudence might direct them ; but these forms being once established, it became a duty not only of natural, but also of revealed religion, which tells us *to submit to every ordinance of man for the Lord’s sake*, to comply with the regulations of them. Such is Dr. B’s. method of establishing a divine authority in the church, for preaching the word of God, and administering the sacraments. But unfortunately after all this demonstration, it will appear, that bishops and clergymen have in no other sense authority from God for their ecclesiastical functions, than constables and bailiffs have for apprehending prisoners. In the end Dr. B. himself is obliged to admit this consequence, where he says “In every proper sense of the word, the ministers of the state, as well as those of the church, receive their authority from God.” †

* P. 112.

† P. 114.

Your own sentiments, as may be well expected from what has been said above, are strictly conformable to those of bishop Hoadly, and Dr. Balguy. In your *Discourse on Religious Establishments*,* you tell us, that “in the first planting and propagating of Christianity the means employed were miraculous ;† that when the gospel had once taken root in the several countries where it had been planted, it seems conformable to the divine wisdom to leave the care of it to the ordinary and natural abilities of its professors,‡ who were to employ proper means in order to support it ;”§ that, for reasons which you enlarge upon, it was requisite “the doctrines and precepts of the gospel should be inculcated and enforced.”** Hence, you say, “the necessity of religious services and religious instruction ; and consequently of a succession of men whose office it shall be to administer them.†† So then, it seems, Sir, you are seriously of opinion, no less than Dr. B. that notwithstanding religion could not subsist without public services, instructions and ministers, yet the apostles were so unwise or so negligent as to provide none of these things in the churches which they founded, at least none of a permanent nature ; no, not so much as the very sacraments ; but that they left both the necessity of them and the means of procuring them to be found out “by the natural abilities of the professors of the gospel?” The same reflection is applicable to your doctrine concerning the form of church government ; which is briefly this, that as the Almighty has not settled any determined form of governing the state, so neither has he of governing the church ; but has left the people at liberty either to constitute bishops, as is

* Discourses chiefly on the Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion, by John Sturges, LL. D. Chancellor of Winch. &c. 1792.

† Disc. xvii. On Religious Establishments. P. 336.

‡ P. 338.

§ P. 339.

** Ibid.

†† P. 340.

the case in England; or to establish Presbytery, as they did at Geneva; or to have temporary and occasional ministers, as the Quakers, Muggletonians, &c. have settled it. That I may not be accused of misrepresenting your doctrine in this instance, I will insert below certain extracts from your publications, in which every man who is capable of reasoning will discern the tenets here laid down.* But why this de-

* "It is not my intention to enter into the arguments deduced from scripture on the form of church government....To whatever opinion different parties may be inclined on these arguments, it seems pretty apparent, that neither Christ nor his apostles meant to prescribe minutely those regulations by which the future church should be governed in the several countries where it was to subsist. What we meet with in scripture are intimations and examples of their practice concerning this government, rather than direct commands." *Considerations on the Present State of the Church Establishment, in Letters to the Rt. Rev. Lord Bishop of London, by John Sturges, LL. D. Prebendary of Winchester, &c. 1779, pp. 58, 59. See also the discourses, p. 344*—"I have always considered the government of civil and religious societies as much on the same footing....Society and religion are both equally of God's appointment. It is as much his will that the civil laws be obeyed,....as it is that we should believe those truths and observe those precepts which more immediately constitute our religious duty.—But the particular means by which these purposes are to be obtained, the particular regulations which will best produce them, are left in both cases to be determined by human wisdom, and to be accommodated to the different circumstances of the societies for which they are wanted." *Consid. pp. 60, 61.*—"I do not see the impropriety of this mode of governing, viz. by bishops, in any country; but if it be thought that there should be a sort of analogy in all countries between the ecclesiastical and civil constitution, I should say, that in our own the episcopal form was more proper than any other for the government of the church, from its being more analogous to that of the state." *Ibid, p. 62.*—"In all Christian countries provision should be made for explaining the truths and inculcating the precepts of the gospel. It is also highly expedient that this provision should be adapted to the different circumstances of each country....Many things respecting the outward form of religious institutions are in themselves indifferent, and not determined by Christ, or his inspired followers, and may therefore safely be committed to human discretion, which will select, dispose, and modify them as the character of each

parture from the doctrine of the Church of England and of all christian antiquity? For it is notorious, that in no one church, from Judea to India eastward, and from thence to Spain westward, is there any trace of such a formation of an ecclesiastical constitution, or of such a beginning to public services, instructions, and the ministry, or of such a delegation of power from the people to the pastors, as you have described. On the contrary, it is demonstratively proved, that wherever the apostles founded churches, they ordained bishops and priests in them, with the obligation of instructing the faithful and administering the sacraments; that they also appointed stated times of public worship, and particularly the Lord's day; and that they established a public liturgy, the most sacred part of which was *the breaking of bread*, as it is called in scripture,* or the ministration of the Holy Eucharist. It is a matter of fact equally demonstrated, that these bishops so ordained, as one of their number died, consecrated another.† and that they have thus perpetuated themselves, together with their essential authority and institutes, without a moment's interruption, during eighteen centuries down to the present day. The only answer then that can be given to the question stated above, is, that it was necessary for Hoadly and his fol-

country may require; provided always that those truths and precepts are preserved in their purity, of which the outward form is only the instrument and vehicle." Discourses, &c. p. 343.—Each of these quotations tends to the same conclusion, viz. that Christ and his apostles instituted no form of church government to remain to future times, whether episcopalian, presbyterian, or independent, but left Christians to settle this most important matter according to their own human discretion, and the state of their civil government, whether this were monarchic, aristocratic, or democratic. This is confirmed by the analogy between civil and ecclesiastical government, which our author points out, after Dr. B. where he says, in concluding this subject, "There is no doubt that God designed man for a social as well as a religious being...but he has not dictated the laws or prescribed the precise form of each society; it being the province of human wisdom to accommodate these to each particular case," &c. Ibid. p. 344.

* Acts, ii, 42, 46. xx, 7.

† See *Euseb. Ch. Hist. S. Iræn. adv. Hær.*

lowers to overturn the ancient system of ecclesiastical government and authority, because it was impossible to reconcile it with their fundamental tenet of the original and fundamental power of the people in these matters, and to escape the thunders of the convocation, which hung over the former's head, in consequence of his different innovations in the essential doctrines of the church.

By way of more securely guarding the Palladium of Hoadlyism, as the tenet in question may justly be termed, I find that you have answered an objection which I do not see noticed by Dr. B. The XXth Article of the establishment defines, that the church hath authority in controversies of faith.* What *degree* of authority she claims is quite at present out of the question, because it is repugnant to your creed to allow her any such authority at all. Hence there is seen to be a necessity of eluding the evident meaning of this article in some shape or other. What you say is, that the *authority of the church*, here mentioned, "is a power of declaring her judgment, in order to determine, what her sense of scripture is, and her interpretation of it concerning them."* But pray, Sir, has not every man a *power of declaring his judgment* concerning the sense of scripture? What need then of an article requiring assent and subscription for establishing such a right in the national church? The truth is, a power, to this effect, was never denied by any divine, or other individual in his senses. Again, Sir, if the church is so uncertain in her creed, as you represent, where you barely allow her "the power of *declaring her judgment*, &c. I ask, with what justice can she require the unfeigned assent and consent of the clergy to it? Another branch of authority claimed by the church you do not even attempt to vindicate, but openly condemn. I shall cite your own words: "Excommunication, my lord, is unfortunately the instrument, by which the ecclesiastical jurisdiction is to assert its authority. I have no scruple in saying,

* *Letters to Bishop Lowth*, p. 25.

that the instrument is improper and bad¹¹ When you wrote this, I believe, you were not chancellor of the diocese. But I never heard that when you accepted of that office, to which the assertion of the power and the use of the instrument in question are particularly attached, you retracted this passage. I need not remind you, how strange a declaration the following would be from any judge in a civil court : *I am forced to pronounce a sentence which I believe to be improper, and which I do not even think I have authority to pronounce.*† Now, Sir, the learned world shall determine whether you or I have contributed most to disgrace and weaken the established church. For do you think that the people will bear any great respect for clergymen, who openly disclaim all other authority from God to preach and to minister, except such as constables have for the discharge of their menial office. And is there no danger that some financiering politicians, without supposing them infidels, may calculate upon what cheaper terms the church may be served, than it is at present, should they hear its most learned and respectable dignitaries proclaiming that the establishment does not descend from Christ and his apostles, but that any other form may be conscientiously substituted in its stead, which the people or their representatives in the legislature may prefer to it?

II. From comparing the doctrine of the Church of England with Hoadlyism concerning the nature and formation of *the Ark of Christ's Church*, as it is cal-

* Ibid. p. 70. [I reserve for the Postscript my answer to the complaint of Dr. S. in his 2d edition, on the alledged misrepresentation of his doctrine in this instance, with which he charges me.]

† According to the principles of Hoadlyism, it is not in the power of any person whomsoever to cut off the most scandalous sinner from the church of Christ, as the words of excommunication import. Nor did even St. Paul, according to Dr. H. attempt this in the case of the incestuous Corinthian. See Hoadly's Answer to the Representation of the Lower House of Convocation, sect. vii.

have been one of the most acute and learned scholars of his age, really incapable of understanding a catechism for children?

Having said thus much, in opposition to the avowed doctrine of the established church, Dr. B. proceeds still further to undermine it, by substituting a new and unheard-of phantom of spiritual grace in the sacrament, instead of that actual communication with Christ, *indeed and reality, for the strengthening of the soul*, which the said church confesses to take place in it.—In a word, he asserts, that the grace received is nothing more than “an acceptance of the benefit of Christian redemption—The due administration of the sacrament has the force of a promise made by God, and humbly accepted by the devout communicant.”* I appeal to the common sense of mankind if there ever were a greater mockery of words on the part of Dr. B. in case we believe the scriptures and the establishment, or on the part of these, if we give credit to Dr. B.! In fact, Sir, what is there more sacred and awful in the sacramental communion, according to this sense of it; than there is in reading the scriptures, or in performing public worship and prayer? Have not these confessedly the force of “a promise of the Christian redemption, made by God and of an acceptance of that promise by the devout believer?” What necessity should there be of a stricter self-examination in one of these cases than in the other?† And what greater reason to apprehend “diverse diseases and sundry kinds of death”‡ from unworthily receiving the *empty*

* P. 307.

† Dr. B. seems sensible of this, where explaining the qualification of self-examination before communion, required in the catechism of the church, he says in opposition to her: “The necessity of the self-examination may first perhaps have been suggested by a mistaken interpretation of a passage in one of St. Paul’s Epist. 1 Cor. xi, 28; and it ought not to be dissembled, that there is no passage in scripture which expressly requires it of us, as a condition of receiving the sacrament.” P. 315.

‡ “As the benefit is great.....so is the danger great, if we receive unworthily. For then we are *guilty of the body and blood of Christ*; we kindle God’s wrath, and provoke him to plague

grace." The plain doctrine contained in this exposition concerning the present spiritual effects and the necessity of baptism, is illustrated and confirmed by every rubric, every exhortation, and every prayer in the public liturgy appointed for the ministration of it.* The articles also declare, that "Baptism is not only a sign of difference between Christian-men and others that be not christened, but also a sign of regeneration whereby, *as by an instrument*, they that receive baptism rightly are grafted into the church, and the promises of the forgiveness of sin and of our adoption, &c. are visibly signed," &c.† To form a clear and precise idea of the nature of that death to sin and "regeneration" or new birth to righteousness, which the established church describes in these passages as the chief effect of baptism, it is necessary to attend to her express doctrine concerning Original or Birth Sin.—On this point she pronounces that "Original Sin standeth, not in the following of Adam, but in the *fault* and corruption of every man of the offspring of Adam,—and in every person born into the world it deserveth God's wrath and damnation."‡

In opposition to the whole of this system, we have witnessed the ridicule which Hoadly casts upon authoritative benedictions,§ of which the sacraments are evidently the chief, and in short, upon all exterior means of salvation, with respect to those whom he vainly describes as "secure of their integrity before God." We have seen your own account of the naked and unprovided state of the Church, as you suppose it to have been left by the apostles, without a public liturgy or ministry of any kind and with nothing but the uncertain resource of human prudence for the discovery of the very necessity of them.** Now, Sir, it is as clear as the sun at noon-day, that you could not have made any such assertions as these, had you admitted,

* See the same in the Common Prayer.

† Art. xxvii.

‡ Art. ix.

§ See p. 419.

** See p. 429.

with the established Church, that there are now, and of course were then two sacraments *generally necessary to salvation*, instituted by Christ and consisting of outward and visible signs, as "a means whereby we receive inward and spiritual grace, and as a pledge to assure us thereof;" because, in fact such outward and visible signs would have constituted a public service then, as they still constitute the most essential part of it, and would have required public ministers possessed of higher powers, than could be derived from the people, either collectively or by their representatives—Such are the inevitable consequences with respect to the sacraments of the common principles of yourself, bishop Hoadly, and Dr. Balguy. However, as the last mentioned divine has left us a Charge, addressed to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Winchester, in his official capacity, on the present subject, in which he attempts to reconcile his opinions upon the sacraments with those of the church,* it is peculiarly incumbent on me to examine how far he has succeeded in this undertaking.

Of all the controversies that have been agitated of late years concerning the sacraments, the most important is evidently, whether they do or do not confer a real interior and spiritual grace. I have shewn that the church of England asserts the affirmative of this question in the plainest words that can be employed; but I have remarked, that it is essential to deny the existence of this sacramental grace in the principles of Hoadlyism. Accordingly Dr. B. tries his skill in endeavouring to make the doctrine of the former bend to that of the latter. With this view he sets out with inquiring, what is meant by the "interior and spiritual grace," which is said in the Catechism "to be given by means of the sacraments."† In a word, he denies that "the assistance of God's holy spirit" is signified thereby; and maintains, though without the shadow of an argument, that it means no more than "a spiritual

* "In this inquiry the Church itself shall be my guide."—Charge vii. On the Sacraments. P. 296.

† P. 297.

benefit ;”* which benefit he afterwards explains to consist in the mere empty sign of a future benefit.† But in using this notorious violence with the definition of the Catechism, why did he not equally try his skill in perverting that of the Articles, which asserts that the sacraments are the “*effectual* signs of grace and God’s good will towards us, by which he doth *work* invisibly *in us*, and not only *quicken* but also *confirm faith*,” and also the words of the Homily quoted above ? The truth is, it was too difficult a task even for the abilities of a Balguy to attempt explaining these in his sense ; and therefore he prudently avoided noticing them.—Notwithstanding these and other equally conclusive passages of the Articles and Liturgy, he goes on to assert, that a sacrament is “a sign declaratory only, not efficient.”‡ I shall add no more on this head than barely to remark, that if *efficient* and *effectual* are the same word differently inflected, as I take them to be, there is not only an opposition in meaning, but also in terms, between the Church of England’s creed and that of Dr. B. The former says, that the sacraments are *effectual signs* of grace ; the latter asserts that a sacrament is not an *effectual sign*.

Our author proceeds to investigate the first of the sacraments, baptism, but he finds an invincible obstacle by the way in the doctrine of original sin. He is aware, that if this be admitted, the efficacy of baptism would follow of course, with other doctrines utterly destructive of Hoadlyism. What is to be done in these streights ? He suppresses the strong and express texts of scripture, which support the above mentioned mysterious tenet ;§ and produces another,** as the principal ground work on which it rests, that is susceptible of different interpretations. In the mean time he spares me the trouble of confronting his Pelagian doctrine with that of the church, contained in

* P. 298.

† “The grace signified by Baptism is repentance ; the grace signified by the Lord’s Supper is pardon.” P. 318.

‡ P. 298.

§ Rom. iii, 23. v. 12.

** Ephes. ii, 3.

the passages above referred to, by fairly abandoning the latter as untenable. His words are these: "The passages in our articles* which might seem to favour such an expression, (viz. that of original sin) have long been understood, as it were, by common consent, to admit of some latitude in their interpretation."† But it soon becomes necessary, for the accommodation of Hoadlyism, to apply the same latitude of interpretation to the words of Christ himself in the institution of baptism. Our Saviour says to Nicodemus: *Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born of water and of the spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.*‡ To this Dr. B. answers: "Our Saviour's assertion amounts to this, no man can enter into the kingdom of heaven, without the profession of Christianity, and the observance of its laws."§ In conclusion our author tells us, that he does not "exclude the assistance of the spirit" from baptism. This, however, is but a delusive symptom of returning orthodoxy: for he immediately afterwards tells us, that though we have "an assurance of receiving this assistance on all fit occasions, yet there is no such assurance of receiving it expressly conveyed in the rite of baptism."** I will add no more at present, except barely to observe, that the Hoadlyan system, so far from rendering the doctrine of the sacraments more simple and intelligible, incumbers it with a great number of perplexing consequences, which tend to multiply these divine rites, and to blend them together in the strangest manner possible. In particular, I here solemnly maintain, in the face of the learned world, that the cere-

* He might have added the whole liturgy of baptism, of which the following address, appointed to be made by the minister, is a specimen: "I certify you, &c. concerning the baptising of this child; who being born in *original sin* and in the *wrath of God*, is now, by the laver of regeneration in baptism, received into the number of the children of God and heirs of everlasting life," &c. See the Book of Common prayer.

† P. 301.

‡ St. John, iii, 5.

§ P. 303.

** P. 304.

mony of washing of feet, mentioned in the gospel, possesses every requisite to constitute a true sacrament of the Christian church in the principles of your learned friend Dr. B. And I here call upon you, Sir, to disprove this very serious consequence, if there be a possibility of doing so.*

* In proof of this assertion, let us first hear the gospel account of this ceremony: *Now before the feast of the passover, when Jesus knew that his hour was come... having loved his own ... he loved them to the end....And supper being ended....he riseth from supper and laid aside his garments, and took a towel and girded himself. After that he poureth water into a bason, and began to wash the disciples feet and to wipe them with a towel....Peter sayeth to him, Thou shalt never wash my feet. Jesus answereth him, if I wash thee not, thou hast no part with me: Peter sayeth unto him, Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands and my head. Jesus sayeth to him, he that is washed needeth not save to wash his feet; but is clean every where: and ye are clean, but not all: for he knew who should betray him....So after he had washed their feet he said....if I your lord and master have washed your feet ye ought also to wash one another's feet. I have given you an example that you should do as I have done to you.* St. John, xiii.—Let us next attend to the church definition of a sacrament, viz. “An outward visible sign of inward spiritual grace, instituted by Christ himself,” &c. Let us lastly observe Dr. B's comments upon this definition, and his illustration of it. “The grace, here spoken of, does not mean the assistance of God's holy spirit; but a favour or benefit.” P. 277. “The sign (or sacrament) is a *means of grace*, by declaring our acceptance of the benefit and God's promise to confer it.....The sign is declaratory only, not efficient.” 298. “The promises of God are shadowed out to us under the images of the sacraments.” P. 302. “Baptism represents a purification from sin.” Ibid. “No assurance of God's spirit is conveyed in baptism.” P. 304. “The benefits of the Lord's Supper are not present but future. The sacrament is no more than a sign or pledge to assure us thereof.” In one word, the essential difference between the doctrine of the Catholics and Protestants, on one hand, and of Dr. B. with other disciples of Hoadly, on the other, is, that the former maintain a real present grace or assistance of God which is conveyed in the sacrament to the worthy receiver; whereas the latter asserts, that nothing more than a sign or figure of such grace is afforded. Let us now collect the result of the whole. In the ceremony of washing feet (still practised in religious communities, and at our court on Maundy Thursday) there is evidently, 1st, a *visible sign*; 2dly, the

I come now to treat of that which is called *The Sacrament*, by way of excellence. Of this its divine institutor himself speaks in each of the four Evangelists in the most impressive terms, and represents it as a rite equally mysterious and beneficial.* The holy fathers and ecclesiastical authors of all countries and all ages have vied with each other in extolling it as the master-piece of the divine bounty. Whatever disputes Catholics and Protestants have had concerning the nature of it, they have agreed in representing it as of so supernatural an order, that the participation of it is necessarily attended either with the most salutary or the most fatal effects to the souls of the receivers, according to the good or bad dispositions they bring with them to it. But to speak more particularly of the definitive doctrines of the Church of England on this point. She positively asserts that "the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper,"† and she requires her ministers to signify the same in the very act of distributing it.‡ Conform-

institution of Christ; and lastly, the sign or figure of invisible grace, namely, of purification from sin: If I wash thee not thou hast no part with me....You are clean, but not all: for he knew who should betray him.—I now confidently ask, what is wanting in the Hoadlyan system to constitute the washing of feet a real sacrament?

* *Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life. For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood dwelleth in me and I in him, &c.* St. John, vi, 54, 55, 56. St. Mat. xxvi, 26. St. Mark, xvi, 22. St. Luke, xxii, 19.

† Catechism, in the Common Prayer.

‡ "The body of Christ, &c. preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life. The blood of Christ," &c. Common Prayer.—Dr. Heylin, in his Introduction to the Life of Archbishop Laud, mentions, that these words, which stood in the first liturgy of Edward VI, were afterwards, when Zuinglianism obtained, expunged, as approaching too near to the Catholic doctrine, and then again restored to the present liturgy in the time of Elizabeth. The reason of this Burnet shews in his History of the Reformation, viz. because it was resolved upon that the articles and liturgy should be so framed as to suit the consciences of Protestants who believed in the *Real Presence*, amongst

ably with this tenet, she asserts, in her articles, "to those who worthily receive, the bread is a partaking of the blood of Christ."* The whole liturgy and public homilies of the Church of England announce the same tenet of an actual communication with Christ, and of a present grace derived from it. In particular, the first part of the homily which treats of this subject, says, "Thus much we must be sure to hold, that in the supper of the Lord there is no vain ceremonie, no bare signe, no untrue figure of a thing absent, but, as the scripture sayeth, the table of the Lord is the bread, and the cup of the Lord is the memorie of Christ, the annunciation of his death, yea, the communion of the body and blood of the Lord in a marvellous incorporation."†

In contradiction of this doctrine of the established church, delivered with so much precision and energy,

whom was the queen herself. For the same reason the passage in the 29th article of Edward VI, which declared that "the body of Christ being now in heaven, cannot be also in the sacrament," was suppressed, in the corresponding 28th article of Elizabeth. Heylin, in the passage above quoted, proves, that a great number of the chief lights of the Church of England, before the time of Laud, firmly maintained that doctrine, particularly bishop Ridley, Nowel prolocutor of the famous convocation of 1562, Bilson and Andrews bishops of Winchester, and Morton bishop of Durham. To these names may be added, that of the learned Bramhall bishop of Derry, who writes as follows, in his answer to Militiere's *Triumph of Truth* :— "No genuine son of the Church of England did ever deny a true, real presence. Christ said, *This is my body*; what he said, we do stedfastly believe. He said neither *con*, neither *sub*, neither *trans*. Therefore we place these amongst the opinions of schools, not amongst articles of faith." P. 74. Amongst the divines of the present day, who have not been ashamed of the genuine doctrine of the Church of England in this point, is the learned Dr. Cleaver, late bishop of Chester, now bishop of Bangor, who says: "The great object with our Reformers was whilst they *acknowledged* the doctrine of the *Real Presence*, to refute that of transubstantiation; as it was afterwards to refute the notion of impanation or consubstantiation." Sermon, Nov. 25, 1787, p. 2.

* Art. xxviii.

† Hom. on the Sacr. part I.

concerning the mysterious sublimity and boundless efficacy of the sacrament, bishop Hoadly teaches that it is a mere positive rite, containing no mystery at all or efficacious grace, even with respect to the worthy receiver,* and you, Sir, step out of your way† on purpose to pronounce a panegyric on the justice and conclusiveness of the arguments on which he builds this *Socinian scheme*, as the learned divine and prelate whom I have just cited expressly terms it.‡ It is plain, Sir, you admit that this scheme stands in opposition, not only to the authority of the ancient fathers and modern divines in general, for which you declare, in the words of Dr. Pearce, that you “have long since divested yourself of all prejudice,” to the end you may, “in matters of faith learn to go *alone*,”§ but also to the doctrine of the Church of England. In fact, you claim the approbation and the thanks of all true Protestants in favour of your friend, the bishop, for “recalling them to the authority of scripture alone on a subject which,” you say, “had been overwhelmed with misapprehension and superstition.”** Had you not conceived that the Church of England, like the rest, was involved in error and superstition on this point, you could not have complimented bishop Hoadly with the merit of recalling Protestants from them.

* Plain Account.

† Reflect. p. 99.

‡ Sermon on the Sacrament, before the University of Oxford, Nov. 25, 1787, by the lord bishop of Chester. 2d. ed. p. 7.

§ Reflect. p. 100. [I am sorry to be obliged so frequently to point out the opposition there is between the tenets of Dr. S. and those of the established church. The latter, so far from undervaluing the ancient fathers, requires her clergy to consult their interpretation of the scriptures, in preaching to the people under pain of excommunication: “Imprimis videbunt concionatores ne quod unquam doceant pro concione nisi quod consentaneum sit doctrinæ veteris aut novi testamenti; quodque ex illa ipsa doctrina Catholici patres et veteres episcopi collegerint, qui secus fecerit excommunicabitur.” *Canones Ecclesiæ Ang. An. 1571.*]

** Ibid. p. 99.

It is true you boast of having scripture on your side : But what extravagant or impious innovator that has pretended to reform the church during the eighteen centuries of her existence has not made the same boast? If every other argument, demonstrating the necessity of a living speaking tribunal, to determine the sense of scripture, were wanting, the confidence with which you and others amongst the most learned divines of the present day appeal to the four Evangelists, in proof that the sacraments are devoid of all mystery and grace, would alone be sufficient to convince me of it.

It remains for me to shew, what your learned friend and fellow disciple in the school of Hoadly has asserted concerning the Sacrament, in his Charge to the Clergy on this subject.* Having mentioned the doctrine of the Church of England, namely, that "the body and blood of Christ are *verily and indeed* received in the sacrament, he is forced equivalently to own that it cannot be reconciled with the tenets of Hoadlyism. It would be too much however to expect that he should sacrifice the latter to the former. What he says is, that it would, "be uncandid to charge the Church of England with favouring the doctrine of transubstantiation, † which he conceives would be the consequence of admitting *verily and indeed* in their plain natural sense to mean *really*. He proceeds: "The words cannot have this meaning, whatever else they may mean."‡ Nevertheless he himself is incapable of devising any other sense which they are capable of bearing, and accordingly he leaves them as he found them to speak for themselves. What method, Sir, I ask you, can possibly be devised of escaping the present dilemma? Have the most learned prelates and divines of Elizabeth's reign been guilty of framing an obscure and delusive exposition of the most sacred rite of their religion; or was your friend, whom we all know to

* Balguy's Discourse on the Sacraments. 1781.

† P. 306.

‡ Ibid.

have been one of the most acute and learned scholars of his age, really incapable of understanding a catechism for children?

Having said thus much, in opposition to the avowed doctrine of the established church, Dr. B. proceeds still further to undermine it, by substituting a new and unheard-of phantom of spiritual grace in the sacrament, instead of that actual communication with Christ, *indeed and reality, for the strengthening of the soul*, which the said church confesses to take place in it.—In a word, he asserts, that the grace received is nothing more than “an acceptance of the benefit of Christian redemption—The due administration of the sacrament has the force of a promise made by God, and humbly accepted by the devout communicant.”* I appeal to the common sense of mankind if there ever were a greater mockery of words on the part of Dr. B. in case we believe the scriptures and the establishment, or on the part of these, if we give credit to Dr. B.! In fact, Sir, what is there more sacred and awful in the sacramental communion, according to this sense of it, than there is in reading the scriptures, or in performing public worship and prayer? Have not these confessedly the force of “a promise of the Christian redemption, made by God and of an acceptance of that promise by the devout believer?” What necessity should there be of a stricter self-examination in one of these cases than in the other?† And what greater reason to apprehend “diverse diseases and sundry kinds of death”‡ from unworthily receiving the *empty*

* P. 307.

† Dr. B. seems sensible of this, where explaining the qualification of self-examination before communion, required in the catechism of the church, he says in opposition to her: “The necessity of the self-examination may first perhaps have been suggested by a mistaken interpretation of a passage in one of St. Paul’s Epist. 1 Cor. xi, 28; and it ought not to be dissembled, that there is no passage in scripture which expressly requires it of us, as a condition of receiving the sacrament.” P. 315.

‡ “As the benefit is great.....so is the danger great, if we receive unworthily. For then we are guilty of the body and blood of Christ; we kindle God’s wrath, and provoke him to plague

types of bread and wine, than from unworthily reading the written word of God? Our learned archdeacon is aware how strange and capricious this explanation of the sacrament, (by which the act of receiving bread and wine is made barely to signify our faith in Christ)* will sound in the ears of Christians. To obviate their objections on this head he has recourse to the sacrifices of the Pagans,† and he leaves us to conclude, that our Saviour borrowed his idea of the Lord's Supper from their impious rites and profane feasts.‡ Having again repeated, in different forms of speech, his two fundamental principles, that the Lord's Supper is "an offer and an acceptance of redemption,"§ and that Christ "instituted it in analogy to the sacrificial feasts then in use,"** he concludes this strange theory with asserting the grand principle of Hoadlyism, concerning the sacraments, for the sake of which it was invented, viz. that "the benefits of this feast are *not pre-*

us with diseases and sundry kinds of death," &c. See Common Prayer; also 1 Cor xi, 30.—The prelate above quoted justly remarks, in answer to the advocates of the theory in question concerning the alleged profanation of the Sacramental Test, that "they leave nothing in the sacrament which can well be profaned." Bishop of Chester's Sermon before the Univ. Nov. 28, 1790, p. 2.

* P. 308.

† "Nothing can be clearer or more reasonable, if we attend to the forms of religion which had been established all over the world at the time when this rite was instituted. The religion of Pagans to a very great degree consisted in sacrifices; that is, in feasts given to the gods. In many of these feasts there was a sort of community between gods and men....The participation of the victim was understood to imply a share in the benefits expected from the sacrifice." P. 309.

‡ "Whether these Pagan ideas were originally derived from the institutions of God himself, or he was pleased to accommodate his own institutions to the prejudices of mankind, is a point on which I have no occasion to speak." P. 310.—He admits indeed that the Jewish sacrifices were of divine appointment; but the tenor of his argument leaves us to suppose that the Lord's Supper was borrowed rather from the idea of the Pagan than of the Jewish sacrifices.

§ P. 311.

* P. 312.

sent but future :" in other words, that "the sacrament is *no more* than a sign or a pledge to assure us thereof."*

* Pp. 112, 113.—I cannot quit this *Socinian scheme* of the Sacrament, as the bishop of Chester calls it, without examining an argument which Dr. S. borrows from bishop Pearce in recommendation of it, in the following words : "Nothing has occasioned the loss of that due reverence which is owing to the sacraments so much as the making more of them than scripture has done, and representing them as *mysteries* when they are plain religious actions. The unintelligible parts of a sacrament is what the free-thinkers have chiefly ridiculed. Had the Eucharist been represented, as I have represented it, it never could have been mentioned by infidels with disrespect ; at least *it would have given them no occasion* of treating it with any."—Reflect. p. 100. To judge properly in this case, I will suppose an intelligent Gentoo writing from this country, in order to give an account of its religion to his correspondent in Hindostan. His account of the matter that has been treated of above must necessarily be to the following effect : "Having informed myself of the doctrine of Christians, concerning the nature and attributes of the Deity whom they acknowledge, and of the salvation which they believe to have been wrought for them by Christ I asked whether there are any rites or ceremonies by which they conceive the Deity may be rendered propitious, and this redemption applied to their souls ? They answered me, that there are two such rites, instituted by Christ himself, and acknowledged to "*be generally necessary to salvation.*" Upon inquiry I found that these consist in washing a newborn infant, or other person that is to be initiated into their society, with water ; and, for those who actually belong to it, in their eating bread and drinking wine. I took pains to inform myself whether there were no mysterious meaning, or supernatural grace, supposed to be annexed to these simple and ordinary ceremonies. The person to whom I first addressed myself for this information was a very learned man, the disciple of a famous doctor who died about forty years ago, and who wrote near 100 books great and small, named Hoadly. His answer to me was, that these ceremonies had been "involved in a great deal of misapprehension and superstition," before his master published a certain book called *A Plain Account, &c.* but that now they were proved to be mere positive ceremonies, without any mysterious meaning or effect whatsoever. And does then your Messiah, I replied, require, as the conditions of his favours, and as means *generally necessary to salvation*, two mere annual functions, viz. washing and eating ? This is really as absurd as what

III. I have shewn, that the denial of all real grace in the sacraments necessarily follows from what I take to have been Hoadly's original and fundamental error, namely, Ecclesiastical Democracy or Whigism, in grounding the authority and constitution of the church upon the power of the people. I am also clearly of opinion, that the system in question goes great lengths of itself towards philosophic infidelity, and in its consequences leads directly to it. For my own part I will assert nothing more on this subject than I am enabled to prove; but I should not do justice to my readers, if I were to withhold from them the opinions of other men, better qualified from their station, their experience, and their talents, to judge and pronounce upon it, than I am. We have heard the alarming censure under which a Right Rev. Bishop, who is the ornament of the diocese of Bangor, and of the university of Oxford, qualifies the Hoadlyan scheme of the sacrament. Nor was it a hastily epithet that he employed when he termed it *Socinian*: for he deliberately asserts, at the end of a long dissertation on

our Bramins teach concerning the waters of the Ganges, and the cattle of Brumah. Since writing the above I have conversed with two other teachers, who joined in condemning the explanation that I had heard from the former, as an irreligious novelty. Concerning the ceremony of washing, they agreed that the Almighty has attached a most essential purification of the soul to it. With respect to the bread and wine, one of them told me, that these are the means by which Christ actually communicates himself in a certain mysterious manner to his followers; the other added, that Christ is really present and substantially received in this communication, and that, in fact, by a continuation of that love which made him appear during a certain number of years, in a human shape, he is truly present under the appearance of bread and wine: in the same manner as, he said, the Holy Ghost and Angels had been seen in exterior forms. After a long discussion of the subject I could not deny, that all this was possible to Omnipotence, and I was forced to own that if the arguments in favour of these mysterious effects and divine presence were sufficiently convincing, the ceremonies to which they were attached would no longer appear in the absurd form in which the disciple of Hoadly had exhibited them, but on the contrary awful in the extreme.

the subject, that the work of your celebrated patron which you, Sir, so highly extol as "a specimen of just and conclusive argument," (I mean the Plain Account of the Sacrament, &c.) "has been so much cried up of late years by some for the sake of its connexion with Socinian notions."† At the beginning of the dissertation in question, the learned prelate quotes Dr. Waterland to shew, that "in general, discussions which have for their object immediately to lessen the dignity and importance of the Lord's Supper, are in reality designed as so many attacks upon the Divinity of Christ"‡ The bishop proceeds to confirm this important assertion; remarking, that "as the Socinians, by denying the Divinity of Christ, do necessarily lower the dignity and advantages of this rite, so whoever considers this rite simply as a remembrance of his death, doth, in effect, deny the Divinity of Christ: For example; the idea of the sacrifice of Christ's death, just as it is allowed or denied, decides ultimately and at no great distance upon the truth of Christ's divine nature."§ In a word, Sir the two grand mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation, namely, that there is one God in three distinct and co-equal persons, and that one of these persons became man and wrought our salvation upon the cross are the fundamental tenets of the Church of England, as I shall proceed to shew, and have ever been considered as the very groundwork of Christianity itself; now that bishop Hoadly agreed in opinion with his friend Dr. Clarke, the most redoubted enemy of this doctrine in modern times, seems to be the notion of his friend** no less

* P. 99.

† Sermon before the University of Oxford, Nov. 28, 1790, P. 38.

‡ Ibid, p. 3.

§ Sermon before the University of Oxford, p. 3, See also his satisfactory reasoning on this head, p. 4.

* See the article *Hoadly* in the Supplement to the old Biographia Britannica, one part of which is stated to have been drawn up by the bishop's son, the late chancellor of the diocese of Winchester. Of this the following is an extract: "From this account of Dr. Clarke, and his (bishop Hoadly's) extraor-

than of his enemies, and evidently follows from the nature of the commendations which he bestows upon that writer.* You also, Sir, as well as Hoadly, place the name of Clarke amongst those "who have most excelled in establishing the great truths of *revealed* no less than of natural religion."†

The following are some of the definitions and declarations of the Church of England, with respect to the above-mentioned mysteries, contained in those articles and that liturgy, which are so often assented and subscribed to by all her dignified and officiating clergy. "There is but one God—And in Unity of this Godhead there be three Persons, of one substance, power, and eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."‡ "The Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, very and eternal God, of one substance with the Father, took man's nature—so that the godhead and manhood were joined together in one person, whereof is one Christ, very God and very Man."§ "I believe in Jesus Christ—very God of very God, being of the same substance with the Father."** "The Catholic faith is

dinary veneration for that divine, it has been inferred, that his lordship inclined to Dr. Clarke's doctrine concerning the Trinity; which indeed, though not improbable, yet it is evident, if he did so, that he knew how to distinguish between a private opinion and the doctrine of the church."—This is saying, that Hoadley offered divine worship to Christ as God in public, which he believed, in his own mind, to be idolatry!

* See Hoadly's Account of the Life, Writings, and Character of Dr. Clarke, in which he asserts, that in this capital enemy of the divinity of Jesus Christ, the Arius of the 18th century, "the world was deprived of as bright a light and as masterly a *teacher of truth* as ever appeared amongst us;" adding, that his greatest ambition is that his own name may go down to posterity closely joined with Clarke's.

† P. 97.

‡ "Articles agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and the whole clergy, in the convocation holden at London in the year 1562, for avoiding diversity of opinions, and establishing consent touching true religion. Art. 8

§ Art. ii.

** Nicene Creed. Com. Prayer.

this, that we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity : neither confounding the persons, nor dividing the substance, &c. This is the Catholic faith : which, except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved.”* In confirmation of the importance attached to these fundamental articles of Christianity, by the Reformers no less than by Catholics, I might again recount the stories of Servetus and Gentilis, of Joan Butcher and Edward Wightman, and of a whole hecatomb of other Arians and Socinians, who have been burnt to ashes in this and other Protestant countries, at the instigation of the very apostles of their religion,† not by way of expressing my approbation of these sanguinary measures, but of proving how incompatible with the very name of *Christian*, those men held any doubt or variation to be concerning the two great mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation.

I have shewn what grounds there are for questioning Hoadly's orthodoxy on these points. It is true, his elevated rank in the established church, the power and ability of his antagonists, and still more, the general spirit of orthodoxy that prevailed in his time, rendered him cautious in expressing himself concerning them ; nevertheless he has spoken sufficiently plain, as I have said before, to convince the learned world that he agreed with Dr. Clarke in his capital tenet of Arianism.‡ The same motives, Sir, must have ope-

* Athanasian Creed, *ibid.*—N. B. In the aforesaid Articles it is decreed, that “ The three creeds, Nice creed, Athanasius creed, and Apostles creed, ought to be thoroughly received and *believed*, for they may be proved by certain warrant of holy scripture.” Art. viii.

† The reader will recollect, in particular, the assurances which Cranmer gave to young Edward VI, that it was not lawful for him to tolerate wretches like Joan Butcher, who erred concerning the mystery of the Incarnation. See p. 179.

[‡ We have abundant proof in Hoadly's own words of his decided opposition to the doctrines of the Blessed Trinity and of the Divinity of Jesus Christ. His sentiments are sufficiently clear, though his language is rather more guarded than that of his disciples at the present day. See, in particular, his Sermon on *Superstition*, preached before the King, March 23, 1717. *In this sermon he bitterly laments that “ the believing in Jesus*

rated, to a certain degree, upon Dr. B. and yourself ; but it will be evident, by the passages which I am going to quote from your printed works, now in the hands of the public, that neither of you have thought it necessary to use quite so much caution as the bishop did.

Your learned friend, Dr. B. in his 4th Charge to the Clergy of his archdeaconry, lays down a general maxim on the subject of Mysteries, which at once cuts them all up by the root, and destroys not only the mysteries of the Trinity and Incarnation, but also those of the Sacraments and Original Sin mentioned above, as likewise the Atonement of Christ, the necessity of divine grace, the Resurrection of the Flesh, the Creation of the World. and all the other truths of natural as well as revealed religion, however certain they may be, which are not clearly understood by us. To explain myself better, it is proper to observe, that heretofore divines of every communion agreed in pronouncing faith to be an act of the mind supernaturally aided, by which we believe certain truths, precisely *because God has revealed them*. Hence they have universally taught, that when Christ and the apostles preached their celestial doctrine, and confirmed it with miracles and other marks of credibility the unbelieving Jews were inexcusable in refusing to receive it, notwithstanding its comprehensibility : because, in fact, their business was rather to examine the credentials of these heavenly messengers than the plausibility of the

Christ, which was proposed to put a stop to all superstition in the world, should be itself made an inlet and occasion to that same evil ; and emphatically declaims against " setting up any being as objects of the same faith but that proposed by Christ himself, the *One* only supreme God." He adds, " If they pay the same worship to any being distinct from the *one supreme Being*, or if they multiply the *invisible objects* of any degree of religious respect beyond the authority of what is written, leading men to spend the vigour of their souls, due to the worship of one supreme God, upon a number of objects inferior to him ; this is the superstition of worship from which their Master called the world."—Bishop Hoadly had prudential reasons for describing the worship of the Trinity as merely *superstitious*. It is self-evident, however, that, in his system, this worship is downright idolatry.]

message which they had to deliver.* On the same ground they have maintained, that obscurity in the articles proposed to be believed is an essential condition to the merit of faith ;† that when we evidently see a thing by the light of reason we no longer believe it, precisely *because God has revealed it*, and the understanding no longer pays its entire homage to him.— This, they maintain, is the reason why, according to the doctrine of the apostle,‡ there will be no faith, any more than hope, in the religion of perfect charity because the obscurity of faith will be enlightened by vision, and hope swallowed up in fruition.

Let us now hear Dr. B. “It is no way essential to a mystery to be ill understood : the word evidently refers to men’s past ignorance, not their present. In this sense the revelation of a mystery destroys the very being of it. The moment it becomes an article of belief, it is mysterious no longer.”§ I need add no more to prove that Dr. B. in effect denies the whole mass of doctrines of the Church of England, quoted above from her Articles and her Creeds ; because it is universally allowed that the said mysteries are and must be “ill understood,” as he expresses it ; that is to say, imperfectly comprehended ; in a word, it is admitted that they continue still, what they are termed, mysteries. In conformity with this doctrine, our author says, in terms much fitter for a sentimental novel, than a doctrinal Charge to the Clergy of an Archdeaconry, that “True religion is a practical thing ; not addressed to the head, but the heart. Articles of faith are of no further significance than as they direct or ani-

* See St. John, xv, 24. [See also the truly learned and argumentative Dr. Pearson, bishop of Chester, on the Creed, Art. i, where he teaches, after St. Gregory and St. Augustin, that whatever is apparent or evident “is not properly said to be believed but to be known....that divine faith is an assent to something as credible upon the *testimony of God*....the formal object of which faith is the authority of the deliverer, &c.”]

† See Heb. xi, 1.

‡ 1 Cor. xiii.

§ Discourses by T. Balguy, D. D. p. 237.

mate us in the discharge of our duty.* If this doctrine be accurate, undoubtedly the greater part of the Articles of the Church of England's Faith, not only concerning the Trinity and Incarnation, but also concerning a great number of other points, "are of no further significance," since evidently they are not of a "practical" nature, and are rather "addressed to the head than to the heart." The real truth is, that to believe what God teaches is an essential and even the primary part of our duty. He requires that our understanding should worship him no less than our will. The following assertions in the same Charge are liable to a still heavier censure. "As far as I understand the proposition (that we are saved by Christ) I firmly believe it.—It is our business to apply God's mercy—to active obedience ;—not to scrutinize the reasons of the divine dispensations ; not to explain the mysteries of God's grace by the maxims of vain philosophy ; not to swell out the *slender articles of belief* contained in Scripture, by mere human inventions ; and least of all to censure and persecute our brethren, perhaps for no better reason, than because *their nonsense and our's* wear a different dress. Scripture doctrine lies in a narrow compass. It is confined to a few very general propositions, which give us only just light enough to direct our steps in the way to eternal happiness. They who pretend to see more, see less than nothing, and mistake the illusions of fancy for the objects of faith," &c.† This language, though expressed in general terms, is very significant, and no less strongly militates against the Articles and Creeds of the Church of England, as "swelling out the (alleged) slender articles of scripture doctrine with human inventions, and dressing them out in nonsense," than it does against any other system of theology whatsoever ; since the Articles and Creeds of that Church are not less copious, emphatical, and precise, with respect to the grand mys-

* P. 187.

† P. 192.

teries under consideration, than are those of any other Church that now is or has existed since the time of Christ.

In the passage, however, which I shall next quote, Dr. B. declares his meaning in more plain and direct terms with respect to the said mysteries. His words are these : " A man will have no cause to fear that he believes too little, if he believes enough to make him repent and obey. If we are firmly persuaded that Jesus was sent from God ; if we are sincerely desirous to obey his laws, and hope for salvation in and through him ; it will never be laid to our charge that we have misconceived certain metaphysical niceties, which have been drawn from obscure passages of scripture by the magical operation of Pagan philosophy."* Every one knows, that the Socinians and Free-thinkers have accused the orthodox Christians of learning the doctrine of the Trinity from the Pagan philosophy of Plato ; we see plainly then, that " the metaphysical niceties," herè censured, mean nothing less than the Nicene and Athanasian creeds, together with the first and second articles amongst the thirty nine of the Church of England. This is announced to one of the most considerable and respectable portions of its clergy, in an official charge from their archdeacon, and they are assured, that after all the zeal which their own church, as well as every other Christian church, has manifested in defending the divinity and consubstantiality of our Lord Jesus Christ, against Arius, Socinus, Servetus, Clarke, and other anti-trinitarian heretics, ancient and modern, nothing more is required than to believe that Jesus was sent from God, to be *desirous of obeying him*, and to *hope for salvation in him and through him*. If there be no obligation of believing any thing more of Jesus, than that " he was sent from God," it is plain, that the Mahometans have orthodox faith in him, no less than Christians : for they believe Christ to have been a true prophet sent from God : only they suppose Mahomet to have been a greater pro-

* P. 178.

phet than him. The French Theophilanthropists also have inscribed the name of Jesus in their temples, together with those of Confucius and Luther, as teachers divinely commissioned. But it may be asked, do these Turks and French philosophers "hope for salvation in and through Jesus?" I answer, yes they do, as far as Dr. B. judges this to be necessary: for he has proposed a number of schemes, any of which he conceives sufficient to verify the general scriptural proposition, that *Christ is the author of eternal salvation*. Amongst these are the following: Christ may be said to save us either by his doctrine, or by his example—or "by the authority that is given him to confer pardon, &c."*—Now the very admission of Christ as a teacher divinely sent, implies some kind of confidence at least in the effects of his doctrine. Thus it is seen how even Mahometans and infidels may be said to *hope for salvation in Christ*, in Dr. Balguy's system: since it is sufficient for this purpose that they should consider him as a subject of their imitation. To conclude: it might be expected, that from the little account which our celebrated prebendary makes of the speculative truths revealed in the gospel, he would have expressed the greater respect and gratitude for that most sublime and perfect system of morality, which Christ brought with him from Heaven, and which he opened in his divine sermon on the mount.* But no such thing: Dr. B. assures the clergy, and the public in general, that "Revelation is not a system of ethics; that such

* "A man may understand and believe a general proposition who is not able to assign the particular mode of it....Thus we are taught in scripture, that *Christ is the author of eternal salvation*. There are who maintain that he effects our salvation by bringing us to repentance: there are who contend that he makes our repentance effectual. Those who maintain the former may say, that he saves us by his doctrine, or by his example.....or by the authority given him to confer pardon, &c.—Some may doubt, whether any or all of them be in possession of the truth....Yet take which opinion you please, it is still intelligible and true, that Christ is the author of eternal salvation." Pp, 239, 240.

* St. Matt. v, 21, 27, 33, 38.

a system was not wanted at the time of our Saviour's appearance ? that if it had been wanted, the New Testament would not have supplied the defect ; that Xenophon, Aristotle, and Cicero, have left us a rule little short of perfection ; and, that what was deficient in the writings of the philosophers, common sense and common utility, in a great measure supplied."*

I proceed now, Sir, to consider your own doctrine concerning the Christian Mysteries, upon which I had reason to expect the greater satisfaction, as you have an express discourse on this subject. Previously however to my examining it, I must inform you, that I diligently read over your preceding Discourses on the *Coming*, the *Death*, and the *Resurrection* of Christ, in order to discover whether you any where express yourself conformably to the doctrine of the established church, in her articles and creeds concerning the nature and dignity of the world's Redeemer. So far however from this, I every where remarked a studied distinction between *God* and *Christ*.† It is true you term him "a divine person ;"‡ you admit that he "made a propitiation for the sins of the world ;"§ and you even call him "the Son of God."** But all this you are aware, Sir, has been said by Dr. Clarke and other Arians, ancient as well as modern, and even by the Socinians,†† all of whom allow the Messiah to be in a certain manner the *adoptive* only begotten Son of God, but who can never stand the test of that term *consubstantial*, and of those explicit creeds which the ancient Catholic Church invented, and which the Church of England has borrowed from her, as a safeguard against the impieties in question.

Coming now to your Discourse on the Mysteries, I find the same general doctrine concerning them, which

* Pp. 194, 195.

† Pp. 112, 115, 117, 149.

‡ Pp. 94, 121.

§ Pp. 98, 114, 115.

** Pp. 120, 122, 131.

[†† See the Catechism of the Unitarians or Socinians of Poland, quoted by Mosheim, F.c.c. Hist. vol. iv, p. 505.]

I have confuted in my strictures on Dr. B. viz. that the object of revelation is not barely to make us *believe*, but also to make us *comprehend* the truths that are proposed to us.* The consequence of this wrong principle is evident : We are all conscious that we cannot comprehend the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation ; hence it follows, in your opinion, they have not been revealed to us. You illustrate your system by giving an instance of what you conceive to have been actually revealed to mankind by the inspired messengers of God, viz. his own " Unity and Spiritual Nature."† You say, that a *divine revelation* was necessary to make mankind understand these truths ; and yet Dr. Clarke has demonstrated, in those works for which he is truly deserving of praise,‡ that *natural reason* plainly and directly conducts to the knowledge of these truths ; and every one is informed, that Socrates, and Plato, and Cicero, and a thousand other Pagans, by the light of reason alone, without any revelation at all, have attained to it.

But to return to the main question, which is, how far you admit the Almighty to have revealed those fundamental articles of the Church of England, and of Christianity at large, concerning the Trinity and the Incarnation, that I have before quoted ?§ This question you quickly resolve. " The great object," you say, " of the Jewish law was to preserve amongst mankind the notion of God uncorrupt ; that he was one God, and that he was a spirit, and therefore that no likeness of him could be expressed by any bodily representation. The Christian religion inculcates on us every where the same truths.—But if we carry our inquiries beyond this. if we are not satisfied with knowing that there is one only God, and that he is a spiritual being, and would endeavour to comprehend how and in what manner he exists, to form clear and ade-

* P. 180.

† P. 181.

‡ Discourses concerning the Being and Attributes of God.

§ Pp. 457, 458.

quate notions of him as we do of one another, we find ourselves immediately at a loss ; and if we expect to have what is wanting supplied by revelation, we expect more than it professes to give, more than we are enabled to receive from it.* Permit me, Sir, to remind you that the question is not about comprehending the nature of God, and forming clear and adequate notions of him, (for the brightest seraphim in heaven is unequal to that task) but barely to determine, whether this incomprehensible being has deigned to make known to us any circumstances concerning this divine nature, and the redemption which he has wrought for us, beyond these two simple articles, viz. that there is one God, and that God is a spirit ? In short, Sir, the business to settle is, whether the Articles and the three creeds of the Church of England, in which so many other particulars concerning the mysterious nature of God occur, be or be not founded on revelation ? You, Sir, declare that revelation does not supply us with any information, and that we are even incapable of receiving any information beyond the aforesaid two points. After some metaphysical common-place on the limited nature of the mind, you recur to the same subject in the terms which I shall here cite, together with certain brief comments upon them “ *So impossible is it for man to have a perfect knowledge of the nature of God.*” (No reasonable man, Sir, ever pretended to have a perfect knowledge of the nature of God.) “ *Of this, if Christians had been sensible,*” (all well instructed Christians are fully sensible that an infinite being can never be comprehended or perfectly known by a limited understanding) *the mysterious union of the Son and Holy-Spirit with the Deity,*” Christianity teaches that the three divine persons are the Deity himself) “ *would never have been the subject of so much unprofitable dispute.*”† (The Church of England does not consider it as unprofitable to defend the grand bulwarks of Christianity, namely, the Trinity and the In-

* Pp. 182, 183.

† P. 186.

carnation, against the attacks of infidels, and she actually requires of you, Sir, by your assent and subscription, to take part with her in their defence. In general men may rationally argue concerning what they actually know of any matter, without professing to comprehend the whole of it.) “*The unity of God, as it stood foremost in the law of Moses, has also the same place in the gospel of Christ. The gospel has received and confirmed every part of the law which was applicable to mankind at large—and must never be understood to teach any thing inconsistent with this truth, the basis of all religion. But in the New Testament the Son and the Holy Ghost are spoken of as intimately united with God the Father, and divine qualities are attributed to them.*”* (Then, it seems, that the scripture has supplied us with some information concerning God beyond that of unity and simplicity, namely, that respecting the divine persons.) “*Here then it must be allowed is a great difficulty:*” (it would not be prudent to say a great INCONSISTENCY, though your minor proposition, to correspond with your major, evidently requires the word inconsistency.) “*But how should it have been treated? Would it not have been better to confess that to be inexplicable, which never has been, and never can be explained,*” (the church, Sir does not attempt to explain *how* one Godhead can subsist undivided in three divine persons; she only proposes it as an article of faith to be believed on the credit of manifest revelation) “*than to perplex men with endless disputes, and involve the Christian world in animosity and discord?*”† (The church does not encourage disputes and discord, but condemns them. She must not however, any more than civil government, abandon the fundamentals of her constitution, and permit absolute licentiousness and anarchy, because there are pertinacious innovators who refuse to admit them.) I am sorry, Sir, to be obliged thus to point out the defectiveness of your logic as well as of your theology. If however any person will read your text without my

* P. 186.

† P. 187.

commentary upon it, I am confident he will attach this sense to your imperfect syllogism : " The gospel must never be understood to teach any thing inconsistent with that truth which is the basis of all religion, and stands foremost in the gospel as well as in the law of Moses, namely, the Unity of God ?" but the union of the three persons, as " it is *spoken of* in the New Testament," is inconsistent with the Unity of God ; therefore the gospel is not to be understood to teach it. That I offer no violence to your argumentation is clear from the principles which you so often repeat, and which all your dissertation is intended to illustrate, namely, that " what is revealed to men is as intelligible, and appears as evident, as those things which their own inquiries could discover, and their own reasoning ascertain,"* The plain consequence is, if the union of the three persons here spoken of were revealed in the gospel, it would form no difficulty at all. In a word, you have expressly told us that " if we carry our enquires beyond this, that there is one only God, and that he is a spiritual being—we expect more than revelation professes to give, more than we are enabled to receive from it."†

IV. A late biographer of bishop Hoadly, having mentioned his departure from the doctrines of the church, expresses his " wonder upon what principles he continued throughout life to profess conformity with it!"‡ The same observation seems applicable to the disciples no less than to the master. Let us, Sir, first see what the laws civil and ecclesiastical re-

* P. 180

† P. 183.

‡ New Biographical Dictionary. Article Hoadly. The same author asserts very justly, that the bishop's latitudinarian tenet, concerning " the sufficiency of sincerity, whatever are our opinion, is far from being defensible on the genuine principles of Christianity." He at the same time relates an anecdote, which proves that archbishop Secker was of the same opinion with himself. It is to the following effect : A person having said, in his grace's hearing, that certain reviewers were Christians, the latter made answer : " if they are so, it is certainly according to the Winchester system : *secundum usum Winton.*"

quire on that head, and then what the bishop, Dr. Balguy, and yourself have published more immediately relating to it. To omit former acts of parliament to the same effect, by the 13th Eliz. c. 12, it is enacted, that "no person shall be admitted to any benefice with cure, unless he shall have subscribed the articles,* in the presence of the ordinary, and publicly read them in the parish church, with a declaration of his unfeigned assent, &c. nor shall any person be permitted to preach, without a testimonial from the bishop of the diocese, of his professing the doctrine expressed in the said articles."† The Act of Uniformity, which is the Magna Charta of the Church of England, confirms all former acts of the same nature, particularly that just quoted, and enacts, that no person shall be admitted as a lecturer, or be permitted to preach, &c. unless, "in the presence of the bishop, &c. he read the xxxix articles, with declaration of his unfeigned assent to the same—and that every person who is appointed or received as a lecturer, &c. shall, the first time he preacheth—and also upon the first lecture day of every month, openly and publicly, before the congregation, declare his unfeigned assent and consent unto, and approbation of the book (of Common Prayer, &c.) according to the form aforesaid, viz I, *A. B. do here declare my unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing contained and prescribed in and by the book, intituled The Book of Common Prayer,*" &c.‡ In conformity with these acts of the legislature, the Church of England has decreed as follows: "Whoever shall affirm any of the xxxix articles—are superstitious or erroneous,—let him be excommunicated ipso facto, and not restored but by the archbishop, after repentance and revocation of such his wicked errors."§ By a subsequent canon made at the same time with the

* Viz. the xxxix Articles which had been published by the Convocation of 1562.

† 13 Eliz. c. xii. See Collier, vol. ii, p. 519.

‡ 13 and 14 Car. II, c. iv.

§ Canon v of the Church of England, passed in convocation in 1603. See Gibson's Codex, vol. i, p. 396.

former, all ministers are required to subscribe "willingly and ex animo, that they acknowledge all and every one of the xxxix articles to be agreeable to the word of God."*

It is reasonable to suppose that bishop Hoadly satisfied his own conscience, in subscribing to the doctrine of the established church,† though he disbelieved it in so many instances, by the same arguments that he made use of to persuade the Dissenting Ministers in the work which he addressed to them to concur in this measure. He therein maintains that nothing more is required of the clergy than to declare their assent and consent to THE USE of the *Book of Common Prayer*, &c. whatever their opinion may be of the contents of it.‡ This he endeavours to prove by a forced construction of a particular expression in the Act of Uniformity, which, after all, only regards the clergy who enjoyed any ecclesiastical benefice at the time of passing the act in the year 1662.§ With respect to their successors, there is not so much as a pretence for the evasion of assenting and consenting to *the mere use* of the book, but it is absolutely required that they shall, once every month, declare their "unfeigned assent and consent unto, and approbation of the book" itself; and "if the sermon or lecture is to be preached or read in any cathedral or collegiate church, the lecturer shall openly declare his assent and consent to *all things contained* in the said book, according to the form afore-

* Canon xxxvi.

† I cannot, for my own part, consider a solemn profession of faith, appointed by law and made in a place of worship, in any other light than as an oath.

‡ "I must entreat you to consider, that we are commanded to confine this *assent* and *consent* to the *use* of all things contained and prescribed in this book, by the express words of the act itself; and forbid plainly by it to refer the *consent* to the *use* of all things, and the *assent* to the truth of every proposition as plainly as we can be." See Hoadly's Reasonableness of Conformity, part i.

§ See the act itself, where the passage which Hoadly comments upon will be found to regard only the "parsons, vicars, &c. who were to read the Common Prayer, before the feast of St. Bartholomew, 1662."

said."* That form has been given above, and suffices alone to refute the bishop's perversion of the particular expression referred to. Supposing, however, that nothing more were required of a subscriber than barely to make use of the Book of Common Prayer, with what conscience could he, for example, read the several passages in the communion service, and teach the catechism contained in it, concerning the mysterious efficacy of the sacraments, believing in his own conscience at the same time, that they are mere positive rites, productive of no such effect at all as is there ascribed to them? And when all this is got over, what will Hoadly and his disciples say to the subscription they are required to make *unfeignedly* and *ex animo*, that "all and every one of the xxxix articles are agreeable to the word of God?"†

Had not my subject led me to point out certain particular instances of your own and Dr. Balguy's dissent from the doctrine of the establishment, I might have satisfied myself with producing the passages from your publications, in which this is *generally* expressed. It would be inconsistent in me to find fault with the learned archdeacon's liberality of sentiment in regard of those who differ in opinion from himself, or from the established church, some instances of which I have already quoted.‡ But the question now is, how

* See the act.

† Even Hoadly's admired friend, bishop Burnet, whose conscience was not of the most delicate kind, proves, that the subscription required of the clergy is declaratory of "their own opinion, and not a bare consent to an article of peace, or an engagement to silence and submission." See Burnet's *Exposition of the xxxix Articles*. Introduction, p. 8. [In conformity with this opinion, when the Act of Toleration in favour of the Dissenters was brought into the House of Lords, in 1689, he himself moved that instead of being obliged to declare their *assent* and *consent* to the doctrine of the Church of England, the clergy should only be required to promise to *submit to* and to *conform with it*. It appears however that the bishop got nothing but a great deal of ill will by this motion. See Burnet's *Hist. of his Own Times*, vol. ii, p. 10.]

‡ "The most unbounded freedom is the most favourable to truth....The reception of truth, I mean religious truth, can ne-

far, according to his doctrine, a man is obliged to believe in what he solemnly assents and subscribes to? First then, in the Discourses which you, Sir, so warmly commend,* he insinuates a very disrespectful, though indistinct charge against the liturgy and doctrines of the church, where he asserts, that in the former "doubtless there are some things found capable of amendment, though, upon the whole, we may think it lawful to use it and subscribe to it;† and, with respect to the latter, that the clergy "are not obliged, in their discourses from the pulpit, to explain or defend *every* particular doctrine set forth in the articles of religion."‡ In a subsequent passage of the same Discourse, he allows the clergy, not only to abandon the defence of certain doctrines which they have solemnly assented and subscribed to, but also to speak, and even to write against them, provided they do not attack them officially, and from the pulpit. His words are these: "I am far from wishing to discourage the clergy of the established church from thinking for themselves, or from speaking what they think: not even from writing, where the importance of the occasion may seem to demand it, and where no weightier reason forbids it. I say nothing against the right of private

ver be prejudicial to society....It follows, that the followers of every religion should be left at full liberty to declare their sentiments to the world, and to explain the reasons on which they are founded. It follows, that the opposition to the established religion, if carried on by no other instruments than the tongue and the pen, ought not to be considered as a crime. To suppose otherwise is to make all reformation impossible, it is to justify the persecutions of Christians under Pagan emperors, it is to justify the persecution of our own Protestant martyrs, and, in some instances the inquisition itself." Charge iii pp. 224, 225....."The magistrate most certainly has no pretence of reason for exempting his own form of religion from public examination, and it is impossible it ever should be examined, if men are not permitted to speak and to write against it. Ibid. p. 229.

* Reflect. p. 22.

† Discourses, p. 116.

‡ P. 118.

judgment; against the freedom of speech. I only contend, that men ought not to attack the church from those very pulpits in which they were placed for her defence."* Nothing can be more express. The clergy are left at full liberty even to *attack the church*, both with the pen and the tongue, provided they do not attack her from the pulpit. Our learned divine elsewhere assigns his reason for this restriction; it is not, however, such a one as at all relates to the truth or falsehood of the doctrines themselves, or to any obligation of a Christian's believing the articles and creeds which he professes and signs; but it merely rests on prudential motives and expediency. He says, "Nothing is clearer than that the uniform appearance of religion is the cause of its general and easy reception. Destroy this uniformity, and you cannot but introduce doubt and perplexity into the minds of the people. When they hear in the same town, perhaps in the same church, the most irreconcilable contradiction of doctrine: when they are told, suppose, in the morning, that Christ came down from heaven, that he died for the sins of the world, that he has sent his holy spirit to assist and comfort us; and are told, in the afternoon, that he did *not* come down from heaven, that he did *not* die for the sins of the world, that he did *not* send his holy spirit: what must they, what can they think? Would you have them think for themselves? Would you have them hear and decide the controversies of the learned? Would you have them enter into the depths of criticism, of logic, of scholastic divinity? You might as well expect them to compute an eclipse, or decide between the Cartesian and the Newtonian philosophy, &c."† In short, he concludes, that the effect of such contradictory doctrines in the same religion will be to "destroy all religious principle and the state itself."‡ His argumentation on this point carries conviction along with it. But,

* P. 120.

† P. 257.

‡ P. 258.

Sir, give me leave to ask you, in the place of your deceased friend, if such consequences are to be apprehended from the opposition of different clergymen belonging to the same communion, what may not be expected when the first dignitaries of the church, such as bishops, chancellors, archdeacons, and prebendaries, are found to contradict themselves? When, in compliance with their public ministry, they inculcate the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation, and the efficacy of the Sacraments in the Articles, Creeds, and Liturgy, which they publicly read and subscribe, and then, making use of the freedom of speech and writing, that is here asserted, they publicly proclaim Unitarianism, deny the divinity of Jesus Christ, and teach that the sacraments are mere ceremonies utterly devoid of spiritual grace? Can any thing have so fatal an effect on the minds of the people in extinguishing every spark of religion, as an opinion that the ministers of it do not themselves believe the doctrines which they teach?

There are other striking passages in our late learned prebendary's writings that contain a general avowal of his dissent from the doctrines of the established church, one of which, addressed to the university in which he took the degree of D. D. may be seen below in the original latin.* I shall satisfy myself at present with producing one extract more to the same effect from his English Discourses, which I have selected from amongst the rest chiefly because it seems to point out the principle on which he reconciled it to his conscience to subscribe the aforesaid doctrines. It is this: "The Articles, we will say, are not exactly what we wish them to be. Some of them are expressed in *doubtful* terms: others are *inaccurate*, perhaps *unphilosophical*: others again may chance to *mislead* an ignorant reader into some *erroneous opinion*. But is there any one amongst them that leads to immorality? Is there one in the number that will make

* "Non is sum qui contendam nihil esse quod corrigi possit aut fortasse debeat in ecclesiâ Anglicanâ." Concio pro gradu Doctoratus. P. 336.

us revengeful, cruel, or unjust ?”* To this strange, plea I answer, that if the innocence of a theological system, with respect to the effects here pointed out, be sufficient to justify our solemnly assenting and subscribing to it, we may, I believe, safely assent and subscribe to the ABRACADABRA of Basilides, and to far the greater part of the Koran of Mahomet.

Your own doctrine, Sir, on this, as on other points which I have had occasion to examine, is in perfect unison with that of Dr. Balguy. This will appear from the following extracts from your Letters to Bishop Lowth: “I confess, my Lord, that our Articles appear liable to these objections; the particulars of them are *too numerous*; the subjects of some of them are of a *most obscure and disputable kind*, where it may seem unnecessary and perhaps *improper to go so far in defining*; on both these accounts, the *assent required* from our clergy may appear *too strict*.”† Give me leave, Sir, here to ask, upon what principle you pronounce that the Articles are *too numerous*, if you do unfeignedly assent to them all as being true, and “acknowledge all and every one of them to be agreeable to the word of God?” Has God then been too liberal in his revelation to us? Or is there any point which we believe him to have revealed, and yet are desirous to avoid openly declaring? To be brief, Sir, if you had no difficulty in publishing that the xxxix Articles were too numerous, methinks you ought to have mentioned how many, and which of them, you were desirous of suppressing.

You object in the second place, that “the subjects of some of them (the xxxix Articles) are of a most obscure and disputable kind.” We are not at a loss to guess which articles you here glance at; but whichever they are, I answer, Sir, that in case you really believe the Church of England to have pronounced a true decision concerning them, it is evidently an inestimable advantage to have such doctrinal obscurities

* Discourses, &c. p. 293.

† Considerations on the Church Establishment, by John Sturges, &c. Prebendary of Winchester, &c. pp. 27, 28.

of religion cleared up, and such doubtful points determined. But if you understand by that expression, as your words seem to imply, that the said church has declared some articles to be certain which still remain disputable and doubtful, you not only accuse her of error in defining them, and actually cut yourself off from her communion,* but also you proclaim the unlawfulness of your own subscription and assent to the said Articles. For it is avowedly unjustifiable even in the ordinary communications amongst mankind for any person to assert as a positive truth that which he believes to be doubtful. How much more criminal then must this be in matters of religion! After some prefatory compliments paid to the English Reformers, you proceed to recommend that "their work should be corrected and improved."† You then propose, as a motive for such a 'revision of the articles and forms' of the said church, that "*the case of her own ministers would be consulted by it;*"‡ which sufficiently shews that you think them burdensome to the consciences of many of the said ministers, as they are now subscribed; and you conclude with recommending, that in the new Reformation which you call for, "the basis of the establishment should be made as broad as possible, and nothing retained in the forms of public worship but, what you term, "the striking features and leading tenets of religion."§

I think, Sir, that I have now demonstratively vindicated that expression which has proved so offensive to you and to several of your friends, and has probably given occasion to the present controversy, namely, that bishop Hoadly has, by his doctrines, **UNDERMINED THE CHURCH OF WHICH HE WAS A PRE-LATE** ** Of the nature and tendency of those doc-

* "Whoever shall affirm that any of the xxxix Articles are in *any part* superstitious or erroneous, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*," &c. Canon v. Eccles. Angl. A. D. 1603.

† Considerations, p. 29.

‡ Ibid, pp. 29, 30.

§ P. 31.

** Vol. ii, p. 32.

trines, I can judge as well as any other divine endowed with common sense and information ; but as to the extent of their influence upon the minds of others, you have opportunities of knowing this superior to what I possess ; I have reason however, to apprehend that it is great indeed ; and I particularly lament that, amongst the persons infected with them, should have been two of the greatest ornaments of this learned city, and chief dignitaries of this venerable cathedral ; to the moderation of one of whom (perhaps the same also may be affirmed of the other) it has been owing that he did not rise to the very first rank in his profession. Nevertheless, it has not been so much for the sake of vindicating the expression, as of refuting the system itself, and of stopping the course of the prevailing incredulity and irreligion, which I am convinced are the natural growth of it, that I have entered into the present discussion. You observe, Sir, that I do not avail myself of obvious advantage I might draw from the doctrines of Hoadly, and the supposed right of private judgment. by which he supports them, in order to establish the Catholic rule of faith ; but I have fairly contented myself with defending the Church of England, as far as she agrees with the great body of Christians of all ages and countries, in those articles which are the indispensable constituents of our common Christianity. Yes, Sir, however strange this may sound in the ears of persons who judge in such matters by men's dresses and situations in life, it is true to say, that I, who do not communicate with the Church of England, have, on the present occasion, defended it, and that not unsuccessfully, against you, who 'hold so distinguished a post in it. I will moreover venture to affirm, that there is not one of its great lights, in the two last centuries, who, if he were reduced to the necessity of holding communion with a Catholic or a Hoadlyite, would not infinitely prefer uniting with the former. Yes, Sir, if a Cranmer, a Ridley, a Jewel, a Parker, a Hooker, a Bilson, an Andrews, a Pearson, a Laud, a Gunning, and a Ken, were now living to witness the new and unheard-of doctrines, which I

have quoted from certain late publications, and contrasted with the articles, creeds, catechism, and liturgy of the Church of England, they would one and all exclaim :—*Papery is a trifle compared with Socinianism. The former is barely superstitious : the latter is impious. The question is no longer whether or no we shall invoke the angels and saints of God, but whether or no we shall continue to worship the consubstantial Son of the Father “ true God of true God.” The controversy is not now in what manner Christ is present and communicates his grace in the sacrament, but whether he be there and bestows any grace at all or not. Finally, the business at present is not so much to determine which, amongst others, is the true church that Christ instituted, as to prove that Christ instituted any church whatsoever.*—I appeal to the learned who are acquainted with the doctrines and the conduct of the above-named ancient Protestant divines, whether I have here ascribed to them any other than their genuine sentiments.

But, Sir, there is another point at issue between you and me concerning bishop Hoadly ; I mean, the character of his political sermons and other writings. You celebrate these as highly commendable ; I, on the other hand, have signified that they are exceedingly pernicious and blameable. We have heard in our days of *the sacred duty of insurrection*,* and the whole world has felt the effects of such lessons : but after all they do not sound so extraordinary in those mouths from which they proceed. But to hear a Christian divine and a bishop for ever preaching up the doctrine of resistance to lawful authority, both from the pulpit and the press,† is hardly less extraordinary, than to find him

* See the harangues of Mirabeau, and other demagogues, at the commencement of the French Revolution.

† “ When the higher powers do not promote the happiness and good of human society, they cannot be said to be from God : any more than an inferior magistrate may be said to act by a prince’s authority, when he acts directly contrary to his will.” Serm. before the lord mayor, Sept. 29, 1705. “ In answer to what he (Dr. Sherlock) observes, that he endeavours to justify the legislature and the laws of his country....I beg leave, once

inculcating such theological opinions as those which I have above confuted. It is not, Sir, that I am an advocate for the the tenet of passive obedience ; the Catholic Church never made this an article of faith, though the Church of England certainly did. I know that cases may occur, in which it will become lawful to resist and bind a parent, or to eat another man's bread without his consent ; but such doctrines are not to be preached to the people, who will not want any instructions or exhortations to make use of the law of self-preservation when these extreme and very rare cases occur. On the contrary, It is the business of the true Christian preacher to assist his hearers in repressing their innate vices of pride, ambition, and resentment, which naturally incline them to raise themselves up against the lawful authority of their superiors, and to imagine or magnify grievances, to their own disturbance and that of the state. Even in the case of an unavoidable revolution in government, the same public language is necessary for the security of the new government. On the contrary, those who are incessantly boasting of the principles and merits of a past revolution are incontestably busy in sowing the seeds of a new one. Notwithstanding the evident conformity of these positions both with sound policy and genuine Christianity, I find you, Sir, extolling bishop Hoadly for teaching and acting in direct opposition to them ; you even boastingly proclaim of him, " that civil liberty perhaps owes more to one great man of the clerical profession (Hoadly) than to any other single writer of

for all, to tell him that the whole question is, whether the laws we defend be good and just, equitable and righteous, and not whether they be the laws of the land or not." *Common Rights of Subjects, &c.*" I have shewn that it is a prostitution of the holy sacrament to apply it (in consequence of the Test Act) to a different purpose from what the great institutor solemnly appropriated it."—In this point, viz. in endeavouring to get the Test Act abolished and the Dissenters admitted to equal privileges with the Churchmen, I do not find that Dr. B. and Dr. S. concur with their great leader. [It is evident however that thus far his conduct is more consistent, as well as more liberal, than theirs.]

any denomination”* What, Sir! does this cause owe more to Hoadly than it does to the delusive Locke?†—than to the clamorous Wilkes?—than to the daring Junius? If this be true, how deeply guilty is this democratical bishop of that wild uproar which has unhinged society, and carried devastation round the globe?

As this important subject here presents itself, and as a great deal of foul and fatal misrepresentation, with respect to the real source of the calamities in question, has been industriously propagated throughout the nation, it seems to be an act of justice to the community at large, no less than to the immediate sufferers by the calumnies, to refute these, and to point out the real causes of those evils. It has been lately asserted, in various shapes, by a hundred writers, chiefly of the theological class, that the Catholic religion gave rise to the impiety and anarchy of the French Revolution. Such a charge must appear at first sight strange and absolutely inconceivable; but the attentive reader who has studied, in the preceding pages, the bigotry and blindness of the spirit which dictates it, who has beheld the professors of that religion, after lavishing their fortunes and their blood in defence of Charles I, arraigned for the guilt of the two rebellions against him, who has seen them tried and put to

* Letters to bishop Lowth, p. 165.

[† Dr. S. has found fault with me here for terming Locke “delusive,” p. 117, 2d. ed. Nevertheless I shall continue to think that many of his fundamental maxims in politics which have of late been unfortunately propagated throughout Europe, are *delusions*, until Dr. S. or some other person can prove to me the contrary. Such, in particular, are the following: 1st. That *all men are slaves who do not make their own laws*: just as if the choice of another man must necessarily enslave me, or as if I could not by my own act enslave myself: 2dly. That *all power comes from the people*. This is false with respect even to the purest democracies. For when in these the people have exercised their right in choosing their magistrates, it is still a thing out of their reach to bestow the smallest authority upon them, being, in fact, not possessed of any authority over themselves. Thus the well known Text of St. Paul is not less true in a philosophical than it is in a theological sense: *is no power but from God*. Rom. xiii, 1.]

death for plotting to murder Charles II, and who has heard them accused of even burning down their own houses and chapels in the riots of 1780, such a reader I say, is prepared for the charge of their being the primary cause of that anti-christian persecution, of which they are exclusively the victims. Is it not notorious to the whole world, that the impious and seditious contrivers of all the horrid scenes which we have witnessed, despaired of being able to execute their projects, whilst the Catholic religion prevailed in France, and whilst there were Catholic priests to instruct the people in their social and religious duties? Have not those boasted patrons of toleration, for this purpose, murdered more than 600 of the officiating clergy of France by the dagger and the guillotine, and driven the rest of them, to the number of 60,000 out of that their native land, in order to starve, as they vainly hoped, in foreign countries; one-tenth part of whom have been hospitably and charitably saved from destruction by the sovereign and people of England? Does not the sentence of death, or of transportation to the poisonous swamps of Guyana, stand decreed at the present day, and is it not frequently executed upon such priests as are convicted of exercising the Catholic religion? * And have those apostles of Deism and Atheism, paid this homage of persecution to any other system of Christianity except the Catholic? In many parts of France the Protestants were more numerous than the Catholics; they had ministers in abundance, and the exercise of their religion was legally tolerated, previous to the Revolution † But who has heard of any one of the aforesaid ministers suffering death or exile at the hands of these enemies of Christ? So far from it, these Deistical legislators have, in the times of their greatest distress, refused so much as to take the property set apart for the support of the said religion. ‡ They have observed the same

[* This was literally the case when this work was first put to press in 1799.

† Viz. a decree to this effect was published in 1787.

‡ It will be found, upon consulting the public papers, that within the last five or six months, a motion having been made

the general morality of the gospel, than persons of the same description are at home. It is supposed, that the whole collection of the inhabitants of France, and particularly those who were most scrupulously attached to the tenets and practices of their religion,* became at once "divested of the common feelings of human nature, set at defiance the majesty of heaven, and trampled upon morality and religion."† In fact, such an idea seems to be too prevalent on this side of the water. But does the heroical firmness of the officiating clergy in general, of a great proportion of the religious men, and of all the religious women, throughout France of most of the people in Poictu, Anjou, Normandy, Brittany, &c. and of an innumerable multitude of the inhabitants of France in general, the particulars of which are little known in this country, under such a persecution as has raged in France during more than twelve years, favour such an idea? There is too much reason to fear, that the greater part of the people in every country profess the religion of it more from habit than conviction. But has not the number of sufferers in the cause of Christianity and morality been as great in France, as there is reason to expect would be the case under a similar persecution in any other Christian country whatsoever? I assert, without the fear of being contradicted by any of the persons here alluded to, that if the late Revolution in France has been disgraceful to Christianity, it has also been glorious to it; that if it has proved a great deal of irreligion and immorality to have existed in that country, it has also proved that there was in it a great deal

* The observation here pointed out is a sufficient answer to the anonymous writer of a work quoted by Dr. S. called *Considerations addressed to the French Emigrant Bishop and Clergy*. In this the author attempts to shew, that the Revolution, of which they were the victims, was owing to their previous strictness in requiring absolute uniformity of faith, and an exact observance of a very rigid discipline of devotion and self-denial. I answer in one word, not an individual who was faithful to the precepts of his church in those particulars was afterwards found to be a Jacobin.

† *Sermon*, ut *supr*.

of piety and Christian virtue. The middle of the last century beheld similar scenes in England to those which are now going on, avowedly in imitation of them in France, viz. a king beheaded, a government overthrown, and an oppressive and cruel tyranny established under the name of liberty; but I appeal to all the histories of that period, if these crimes were owing to the want of a Bible in the mother-tongue, and not rather to the very circumstance of ignorant and ill-disposed persons reading the Bible, and interpreting it in conformity with their own passions? * How unjust would it have been in foreigners to judge of the inhabitants of this country, with respect to religion and morality, from the conduct of the English republicans in Cromwell's time! Should God, in his mercy, at length drop the scourge with which he chastises France, it will be seen that he hath reserved to himself, not barely seven thousand men, as he did in the apostacy of Israel, † but more than seven millions of people, who have never bowed the knee to the Baal of Anti-Christian apostacy.

Lastly, it is presumed in the passage which I have quoted, that no persons except those who had been Catholics were guilty of the crimes under consideration. But of what religion were Necker, Barnave, Chenier, ‡ Emeri, La Source, Rabaud, and a great number

[* See a short specimen of the impieties and immoralities arising from the free use of the Bible at that period, pp. 348, 349.]

† 1 Kings, xix. 18.

‡ The following extract of Chenier's speech, made July 26, 1798, in the Council of Five Hundred, in the name of the Committee appointed to report on the situation of Geneva, seems to deserve attention on the present subject: "Hasten to determine the fate of those happy regions that have always deserved well of the sciences, human reason, and philosophy; where the liberty of writing and thinking ushered in the dawn of *Republican principles*; where the 16th century beheld Calvin treading in the vestiges of Luther, and breaking down some steps of the papal throne; where the 17th century saw the satellites of Emanuel discomfited by citizen soldiers, and after the lapse of thirty years the downfall of the popedom: where the 18th century saw Bonet starting up a rival to Newton, Jean Jacques

of others who have acted the most distinguished parts in these tragical scenes? Of what religion were the men of Nismes, who, in the first year of the Revolution, fell suddenly upon their Catholic fellow-citizens, particularly upon the priests and religious, and murdered six hundred of them? * They had read the Bible and had heard the service performed in their vulgar tongue, yet they were amongst the first and most determined of the democratical insurgents. Accordingly the whole party had resolved, in case of a defeat, to concentrate their force in the neighbourhood of Nismes. † I have yet to take notice of another celebrated writer, respectable for his rank and talents, who urges the same charge against the Catholic religion, though upon different grounds. Speaking of those impious philosophers of the age, who, as I agree with him, have been the chief contrivers and instruments of the calamities we lament, he says, "It would be an easy matter to shew, that the superstition of the Church of Rome made them infidels." ‡ He then proceeds to paint the tenets of Catholics in the most injurious and false, as well as the most odious and ridiculous colours, in order to confirm this revolting assertion.—Does he then really believe that it was for want of being acquainted with a more rational and evangelical system of Christianity than that of Catholics, that Rousseau, Voltaire, Frederic II, D'Alembert Diderot, Condorcet, with the whole tribe of infidel philosophers of the times, declared against the gospel, and professed themselves Deists? The supposition is too absurd to be dwelt upon: and the fact is, that some of these were educated in Protestant tenets, from which, like innumerable others in this country, making use of their right of private judgment, they at once launch-

Rousseau proclaiming the code of nations, and Voltaire infusing into Europe the impulse of philosophy." See the *Star*, for August 3, 1798.

* See Barruel's *Hist. du Clerge*, p. 88.

† *Ibid*, p. 87.

‡ Address to the People of England, by the Bishop of Landaff.

ed forth into infidelity.* The first mentioned on the above list, who was by far the most able reasoner as well as the most fatal enemy to Revelation of them all, was educated a Protestant, and was well acquainted with the grounds of the controversy between the Catholic religion and his own; yet he has not hesitated to bear the following testimony to the arguments in favour of the former: "Si j'étois Chretien, je me ferois Catholique demain."

Whence then, in conclusion, have these disturbers of the world principally borrowed those arms, with which they attack and threaten to eradicate the religion of Jesus Christ? In the cure of every malady, moral as well as physical, the first grand requisite is to trace it to its original cause. The necessity of this is more evident in the present case; because it seems to have been ordained in the wise councils of Providence, that the course of this wide-wasting pestilence should be chiefly stopped by efforts from that country, where its ravages were at first chiefly apparent. Let us hear, upon this subject, the celebrated Protestant historian, Mosheim, in his account of the early part of the present century, when that rank seed was plentifully sown, the harvest of which we are doomed to reap. He says: "There is no country in Europe where infidelity has not exhaled its poison, and scarcely any denomination of Christians amongst whom we may not find several persons, who either aim at the total extinction of all religion, or at least endeavour to invalidate the authority of the Christian system. But no where have these enemies of the purest religion, and consequently of mankind, appeared with more effrontery, than under the free governments of Great Britain and the United States. In England, more especially, it is no uncommon thing to meet with books,

* The Protestant professor, Robison, in his *Proofs of a conspiracy*, shews at length, how scepticism, infidelity, and irreligion in Germany grew out of the Protestant principle of free enquiry. The same is unwillingly confessed even by the bigotted Kett in his *History the Interpreter of Prophecy* vol. II, p. 159, &c.

the doctrine of the Church of England, as on the face of her creeds, her articles, and, is diametrically opposite to the tenets of and Socinianism. I have incidentally professed of the utter abhorrence in which all the ant Protestants of former days, Lutherans and Church of England-men, have held this: which abhorrence indeed they have expressed in a manner that I by no means approve of, by burning to ashes the professors of them, with their writings. In particular, I have once mentioned the fate of the learned Servetus, who was put to death by the Protestants of Geneva, for writing a book against the doctrine of the Trinity, (as Gentilis was on the same hose of Berne) with the approbation and sanction of all the principal divines and founders of the Reformation in Switzerland and Germany, and the rest, of the mild and conciliatory Melancthon and Bucer. The latter of these divines, who afterwards became the first Protestant professor at Cambridge, is particularly celebrated by his moderation and the sweetness of his temper. All who differed from him; yet such was his moderation against Arianism, that not content with his reasoning of Servetus, he declared in his sermon that his enemy of the Trinity "deserved to be crucified, his nails pulled out, and his body torn to pieces." I must add, that Calvin, who is universally acknowledged to have been the chief author of this tragedy, and Beza, who both wrote books in justification of its defence chiefly on the peculiar tenets in question; maintaining, that the Blessed Trinity is "not barely heresy, but a heinous and damnable impiety."† I have had frequent occasion to observe, that during the three first Protestant reigns in this country, viz. those of Edward

part ii, p. 164.

Grant, Hist. Ref. Belg. vol. i, p. 454.
Vit. Calv.

in which not only the doctrines of the gospel, but also the perfections of the Deity, and the solemn obligations of virtue, are called in question and turned into derision.”* With this account of the Lutheran doctor, agrees, as far as relates to our own country, that of a celebrated divine of the Church of England; who was particularly qualified to pronounce in this case, from the unremitting attention and labour that he bestowed to counteract the evil which he described. His words are these : “ Never in any country, where Christianity is professèd, were there such repeated attempts to subvert its divine authority (as in this) carried on, sometimes under various disguises, and at other times without any disguise at all.”† But independently of these authorities, it is a fact generally known, that *the patriarch of philosophy*, as Voltaire is called, learned the greater part of his irreligious lessons in London, and drew almost all his arguments against the Bible from the English infidels who preceded him.‡ Much the same may be said of many other celebrated modern philosophers, as they are pleased to call themselves, in foreign countries. The original cause of the mischief is hinted at by Mosheim, namely, that licentiousness in matters of religion, which you, Sir, so much extol under the name of *religious freedom*; the consequence of which is, that men refuse to acknowledge any authority here upon earth, even in the assembled pastors of the universal church, to explain the sense of scripture, and to guide them in the service of God. From an endless diversity of opinions

* Ecclesiastical History by J. L. Mosheim, D. D. translated by A. Maclaine, D. D. vol. vi, p. 7.

† Leland’s View of Deistical Writers. Pref. The same is acknowledged by Robison and Kett, passim.

[‡ In France the advocates of religion heretofore heavily complained of the importation of irreligious books into their country from England, and of the passion of the French for copying the freedom of their neighbours in this island with respect to all matters of religion; from which causes they prognosticated that dominion of infidelity which has since taken place amongst them. See Conférences contre les Ennemis de la Religion, par Beurier, printed in 1799, pp. 554, 559.]

that prevailed here in expounding the essential doctrines of the Bible, many were led to question the authority of the Bible itself. The foreigners who of late took up this fatal principle of religious liberty, universally carried it to all the lengths it was capable of conducting them, and at once rushed into Deism or Atheism.* The only expedient to prevent the same religious evils at home, which are witnessed abroad,

* That an *extravagant* passion for civil liberty in many individuals in this country has occasioned that political licentiousness abroad which has subjugated Europe under the pretence of setting it at liberty, is a point too manifest to require proving. Whence was that chimerical and pernicious principle derived, that men are slaves unless they universally possess sovereignty and form the laws by which they are governed? I love the constitution of our own country, and believe it to be the best adapted to our situation; but the people of the Continent are by this time thoroughly sensible, that representatives, and juries, and justices of the peace, are in themselves no safeguard against tyranny, and no sufficient pledge for the security of person or property: in a word, they deeply feel that *just laws equitably administered* are what constitute the civil happiness of a state.

Professor Robison says: "The spirit of free inquiry was the great boast of the Protestants and their only support against the R. Catholics, securing them both in their Religious and their Civil Rights. It was therefore encouraged by their governments, and sometimes indulged to excess. In the progress of this contest their own Confessions did not escape censure: and it was asserted that the Reformation which these Confessions exprest, was not compleat. Further Reformations were proposed. The scriptures, the foundation of our Faith, were examined by clergymen of very different capacities, dispositions, and views; till by explaining, correcting, allegorizing, and otherwise twisting the Bible, men's minds had hardly any thing left to rest on as a doctrine of Revealed Religion.— This encouraged others to go further, and to say that Revelation was a Solecism, as plainly appeared by the irreconcilable differences amongst the *enlighteners* (so they were called) of the public, and that men had nothing to trust to but the dictates of natural reason. Another set of writers, proceeding from this as a point already settled, proscribed all Religion whatever, and openly taught materialism and atheism. Most of these innovations were the work of Protestant divines from the causes I have mentioned." *Proofs of a conspiracy.*

is to support and enforce the established Creeds and Articles that contain most of the leading articles of Christianity. How far this is generally practicable and consistent with the right of private judgment claimed by Luther, Calvin, Chillingworth, &c. it is not for me to explain, nor can I explain it. So far however is certain and self-evident, that the disciples of Hoadly, who freely profess and subscribe those Creeds and Articles, and yet make such great advances towards infidelity, as their publications demonstrate, are without excuse.

I have the honour to be, &c.

POSTSCRIPT TO LETTER VIII.

[Dr. S. seems to consider the subject of the present letter as irrelevant to the controversy between us.* On the other hand I have shewn, that it is the most essential part, and the very groundwork of it. I am indeed sensible of the great delicacy of the matter in question, as many more persons and those of greater consequence than I was at first aware of, appear to be interested in it. Still, however, I am of opinion that it ought to undergo a thorough discussion, in order that all such persons (many of whom have not directed their studies to theological disquisitions) may be enabled to judge how deeply the existence of the established church, the vitals of Christianity, and, of course, the welfare of the state, are interested in it. If in tracing the steps, at an humble distance, of the great Athanasius, it should be my lot to drink still deeper of his cup of persecution on this account than I have hitherto done, I am content, provided I may share with him the approbation of the future judge whose cause I defend, even of Jesus, the coequal and consubstantial *Son of the living God* †

Laying aside all arguments from scripture, councils, and the ancient fathers, I have shewn in the present

* Advertisement to 2d. ed. p. vi.

† *Mat. xvi, 16.*

letter, that the doctrine of the Church of England, as it appears on the face of her creeds, her articles, and her liturgy, is diametrically opposite to the tenets of Arianism and Socinianism. I have incidentally produced proofs of the utter abhorrence in which all the most eminent Protestants of former days, Lutherans Calvinists, and Church of England-men, have held these tenets: which abhorrence indeed they have expressed in a manner that I by no means approve of, namely, by burning to ashes the professors of them, together with their writings. In particular, I have more than once mentioned the fate of the learned physician Servetus, who was put to death by the Protestants of Geneva, for writing a book against the doctrine of the Trinity, (as Gentilis was on the same score by those of Berne) with the approbation and concurrence of all the principal divines and founders of the Reformation in Switzerland and Germany, and amongst the rest, of the mild and conciliatory Melancthon and Bucer. The latter of these divines, who afterwards became the first Protestant professor of divinity at Cambridge, is particularly celebrated by Burnet, for "his moderation and the sweetness of his temper to all who differed from him;"* yet such was his indignation against Arianism, that not content with the burning of Servetus, he declared in his sermons, that this enemy of the Trinity "deserved to have his bowels pulled out, and his body torn to pieces."† I must add, that Calvin, who is universally known to have been the chief author of this tragedy, and his disciple Beza, who both wrote books in justification of it, rest its defence chiefly on the peculiar wickedness of the tenets in question; maintaining, that to deny the Blessed Trinity is "not barely heresy, but an unpardonable impiety."‡ I have had frequent occasions of shewing that during the three first Protestant reigns in this country, viz. those of Edward

* Hist. Ref. part ii, p. 164.

† Gerard Brant, Hist. Ref. Belg. vol. i, p. 454.

‡ Beza in Vit. Calv.

VI. Elizabeth, and James I, all convict opposers of those fundamental mysteries, the Trinity and the Incarnation. were condemned, and put to death in quality of apostates who had renounced the very substance of Christianity, and that the chief promoters and instruments of these executions were the fathers and founders of the Church of England, namely, the bishops Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Coverdale,* Aylmer, King, Neil,† &c. The first mentioned amongst these, when he obliged the young king, Edward VI, to sign the death-warrant of Joan Botcher, as I have before related, made use for this purpose of the same distinction which Calvin did in the case of Servetus, namely, "He told the king that he made a great difference between errors in other points of divinity, and those which were against the apostles creed: that these were impieties against God, which a prince, as being God's deputy, ought to punish."‡

* The names of these two bishops appear in the process against Nan Parre, as those of the two former do in that against Joan Botcher.

† The two latter prelates condemned Legat and Whitman. It appears from Fuller, that a Spanish Arian was condemned to the stake about the time when these suffered at it, but that the king, James I, chose that he and certain other hereticks should end their lives in prison, rather than be brought out to public execution. The aforesaid historian, who wrote in the time of Charles II, and who was a zealous churchman, speaking of the burnings in question, says, "It may appear that God was well pleased with them."

‡ Burnet's Hist. Ref. part ii, p. 112.—I am far from adopting Cranmer's distinction for the purpose for which he employed it, namely, that of religious persecution. I am also far from making light of the disbelief of any article of faith, which Christ by his church has propounded to us: on the contrary, I am persuaded that the wilful and obstinate denial of any one article of revealed truth is no less a crime than to transgress the Almighty's moral precepts. Nevertheless I am forced thus far to agree with the patriarch of the church of England, that there is a great difference between other revealed truths and those concerning the fundamental mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation contained in the Apostles Creed. There may be what divines call an *invincible ignorance* of the former, which cannot be admitted with respect to the latter. For *there is no*

But perhaps no instance can be alledged which so strongly marks the detestation in which the founders of the Church of England held Arianism, as the conduct and language of the famous archdeacon of Winchester, Philpot, who was "the best born,"* and one of the most learned amongst the Protestant sufferers under queen Mary. Happening to meet amongst his reformed brethen with one infected with this impiety, he was moved to such indignation as to spit in his face. He afterwards wrote a long treatise in justification of this behaviour, still extant, which begins as follows: "I am amazed and do tremble both in body and soule to heare at this day certain men, or rather not men, but covered with man's shape, parsons of a bestly understanding, who—are not ashamed to robbe the eternal Son of God and owr most merciful Saviour of his infinite majesty, and to pluck hym owt of the glorious throne of his unspeakable Deity. O impiety of all other most detestable! O infidelity more terrible than the palpable darkness of Egypt! O flaming fyerbrannes of hell, as I may use the words of the prophet Esay against such apostates! What harte may bare such blasphemy? What eye may behold such an enemy of God? What membre of Christ may allow such a membre of the Diuel?"† Such is a specimen of the vehement language, continued through twelve folio pages, which our first Protestant archdeacon of Winchester employs against an impiety so fashionable at the present day amongst men who glory in him as their predecessor. I might here quote, to the same effect, the explicit declarations of those divines of the established church who are most renowned for their orthodoxy, as well as for their learning and judgment, par-

other name under heaven, except that of Jesus Christ, given amongst men whereby we must be saved. Acts iv, 12. This is an answer to the query which Dr. S. proposed to me on the subject of exclusive salvation, in his additional note, p. 118.

* Fuller's Ch. Hist. b. viii.

† See *The Apology of John Philpot: written for spitting on an Arian: with an invective against the Arians, the very natural Children of Antichrist*, Strype's Mem. Ecc. vol. ii, Rec. 48.

ticularly of Hooker, its chief ornament in the 16th century,* and of Pearson who did it no less honour in the 17th.† But what need is there of citing the opinions of particular divines, when the whole Church of England, by the mouths of its metropolitans and prelates of both provinces has pronounced sō solemn and so energetical a condemnation of the whole mass of errors in question, as is contained in her cañons, framed by them in the year 1640? In these she declares that “Socinianism is a damnable and cursed heresy, as being a complication of many ancient heresies, condemned by the four first general councils, and contrariant to the articles of religion now established in the Church of England.” In conclusion, she denounces excommunication against the maintainers of these “wicked and blasphemous errors,” as she here terms them.‡

From what has been already said, it too plainly appears that the errors in question are considered in the same heinous light by the law as they are by the church, and though all sanguinary punishments in religious matters have very properly been abolished,§ and various acts of indulgence for Dissenters have from time to time been enacted, yet it is a fact, that to the present day, not the smallest degree of favour or toleration has ever been expressed by the legislature for those who subvert the grand fundamental mystery of the Trinity.

* See Hooker's defence of the Athanasian Creed and the Gloria Patri, &c. in his Ecclesiastical Politic, b. v, § 42, in which he gives the history and definition of Arianism, calling it “heresy, impiety, blasphemy, damnable opinion,” &c.

† See an Exposition of the Creed by John lord bishop of Chester, Art. ii, in which, with a profusion of learning and reasoning, he confutes the ancient Arians and the modern Socinians, who, in their Catechism of Racow, pretend that the persons of the Blessed Trinity are no more than attributes of the Deity.

‡ See Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical treated upon by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the rest of the Bishops, and agreed unto by the King's Majesty. Can. iv. Bishop Sparrow's Collect. p. 355, also Nalson's Collect. vol. ii.

§ 29 Car. ii, c. 3.

In the first act of this nature, by which *Protestant subjects dissenting from the Church of England*, are exempted from the penalties of certain laws ; those persons who deny the doctrine of the Trinity are expressly excluded from the benefit of it.* By a subsequent act, which passed in the same reign with the former, it is decreed, that if any person educated in the Christian religion, or professing the same, shall by writing, printing, teaching, or advised speaking, deny any one of the persons in the Holy Trinity to be God, he shall be incapable of holding any place of trust, and suffer three years imprisonment,† being the same punishment which is decreed against declared Apostates,‡ in which predicament they are very justly considered. Finally, in the act which passed in the following reign for the relief of the Scotch Episcopalians, Socinians are by name excepted from all the benefits of it.§

It may seem unnecessary to enter farther into the nature of these proscribed errors ; nevertheless, for the greater clearness, I will just mention, from the accurate Hooker, that the heresy of Arius consists in “ denying the Deity of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the co-equality and the co-eternity of the Son with the Father.”** Conformably with this doctrine, we are told by Burnet, that the error for which Vann Parr was condemned and burnt, was, for saying, that “ God the Father was only God, and that Christ was not very God.”†† In like manner we are informed by Stow and Fuller; that “ John Lewis was burnt for denying the Godhead of Christ, and other detestable heresies.”‡‡ In describing Socinianism I shall borrow the words of the celebrated Protestant Church historian, Mosheim, who says : “ According to the usual manner of speaking, all are termed Socinians, whose sentiments bear

* 1 W. and M. Sess. i, c. 18.

† 9 and 10 W. c. 32.

‡ See Blackstone's Comment. b. iv, c. 4.

§ 10 Ann, c. 7.

** Ecc. Pol. b. v. § 42.

†† Aist. Ref. l. ii, b. 1.

‡‡ Annal. A. D. 1583.—Ch. Hist. 1583.

a certain affinity to the system of Socinus ; and they are more especially ranked in that class, who either boldly deny, or artfully explain away the doctrines that assert the divine nature of Christ and a Trinity of persons in the Godhead. But in a strict and proper sense they only are deemed members of this sect who embrace wholly, or with a few exceptions, the form of doctrine which F. Socinus delivered to the Unitarian brethren or Socinians in Poland and Transylvania.*—"The fundamental rule of the Socinians necessarily supposes that no doctrine ought to be acknowledged as true in its nature, or divine in its origin, all of whose parts are not level to the comprehension of the human understanding, and that whatever the scriptures teach concerning the perfections of God, &c. must be modified, curtailed, and filed down in such manner as to answer the extent of our limited faculties."—"The maxim universally received in this society is, that all things which surpass the limits of the human understanding are to be banished from the Christian religion."†

Having established these points, I beg once more, in justification of myself, and by way of proving the infinite importance of the present dispute, to refer to the significant terms quoted above, in which bishop Hoadly distinguishes between the one supreme God and Jesus Christ, condemning as superstitious the practice of paying the same worship to them both ;‡ and to the express words in which Dr. B. confines our belief, to this single article, that "Jesus was sent by God ;"§ as likewise to the positive assertion of Dr. S. that the scripture teaches nothing more of the divine nature, than that "there is one God, and that he is a spiritual being ; and that the gospel must never be understood to teach any thing inconsistent with that truth which is the basis of all religion, the Unity of

* Eccles. Hist. b. iv, c. 4, § 2.

† Ibid, § 16, 21.

‡ P. 495, note.

§ P. 464.

God.”* I must not, however, omit pointing out the key of this theological system, with respect to the sacraments as well as to the divine nature : (viz. that fundamental maxim of these Doctors in common with the Unitarians which is contained in the following proposition)† “It is no way essential to a mystery to be ill understood: the word (mystery) refers to men’s past ignorance, not their present ; the revelation of a mystery does destroy the very being of it ; the moment it becomes an article of belief, it is mysterious no longer;‡ what is revealed to men is as intelligible, and appears as evident as those things which their own inquiries could discover, and their own reason ascertain.”§ If these and other similar passages in the works referred to, do not in formal terms enunciate Socinianism, they at least, as divines express themselves, *insinuate* it, they *lead* to it, and they propagate the doctrine of it amongst the people ; thus depriving them of all that elevates their minds and amends their hearts, in the sublime and invigorating doctrines of the divine Jesus. But this is not all ; for I have actually proved that the system in question, as explained by the celebrated Balguy, is compatible with formal apostacy, and may be reconciled with the belief of the Koran of Mahomet, and the open professions of the reveries of modern infidels.¶

It is hardly possible to suppose that my opponent would have remained silent under charges of this weighty import against his public doctrine, had he felt himself able to refute them. Yet this is actually the case. On two points indeed, comparatively of small consequence, he has offered a few remarks. He gives us to understand that the late bishop of London, Dr. Lowth, patronized the opinion of Hoadly concerning the Lord’s Supper, in opposition to the system of bishop Warburton, and bishop Cleaver, who teach that

* Pp. 269, 270.

† P. 461.

‡ Ibid.

§ P. 465.

it is a *Feast on a Sacrifice*, and that he confuted this by the following syllogism, which he speaks of as being unanswerable: "No sin offerings were permitted to be feasted on by those in whose behalf they were offered. Lev. vi, 30. Heb. xiii, 11, 12.—But the death of Christ was a sin offering, offered in our behalf, Rom. v. 6. Gal. i, 4. Heb. ix, 26, 28, xiii, 11, 12.—Therefore it cannot be feasted on by us."*—That bishop Lowth adopted the opinion of his patron Hoadly on the sacrament and on other points, I can readily believe; but that the syllogism which I have repeated is conclusive, I can by no means allow. In short though it be not levelled either at my argumentation or my opinions, yet I will at once demonstrate its defectiveness. I might perform this with respect to each one of its component parts, but I shall satisfy myself with distinguishing the minor proposition, in the following manner:—*That the death of Christ was a sin offering and nothing more, I deny.—That it was a sin offering, and, at the same time, a holocaust, a peace offering, the sacrifice of the new passover, &c.† I grant.* Heb. x, 8, 9, 14. I. Cor. v. 7. 8.—*Therefore it cannot be feasted upon, I deny.* I presume I need not prove that in various of these ancient offerings, all of which were fulfilled in the death of Christ, the people and priest in common feasted on the victim. Hence it is plain, that the very mode of argumentation which is brought to prove that the sacrament is not a feast, directly proves that it is one.

The other point on which Dr. S. attempts to say something in his defence, is that of excommunication. This he professes to bring forward "as a specimen of the spirit and fairness of my criticisms and censures"‡ The fact is, having incontestably demon-

* Reflect. 2d ed. p. 234.

† *Sacrifice and offering, and burnt offering and offering for sin thou wouldst not....then said he (Christ) lo! I come to do thy will. He taketh away the first that he may establish the second....for by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified.* Heb. x. 8, 9, 14. *Christ our passover is sacrificed for us; therefore let us feast not with the old leaven, &c.* 1 Cor. v. 7, 8.

‡ Reflect. 2d ed. p. 295.

strated that the Hoadlyan system, which denies the divine constitution of the church by Christ, and reduces this matter to the arbitrary choice or accidental associations of different bodies of Christians,* there is no place for those "authoritative excommunications" ridiculed by Hoadly,† in consequence of which, certain delinquents "in the name and by the authority of God are shut out from *his church*, and like rotten members cut off from the body of Christ;‡ having, I say, demonstrated this, I cited a passage from a work of Dr. S. in which he owns that "Excommunication is an improper and bad instrument of ecclesiastical jurisdiction." This declaration is perfectly consistent with his system, as before explained. Nevertheless, finding the advantage that I have taken of it against him, not only with respect to his arguments as a divine, but also with respect to his office as chancellor of the diocese, he now endeavours to varnish over the matter by pretending that his objections to the use of excommunication was the impropriety of employing it in matters "purely civil, such as testamentary business, this being, as he says, the greater part of that which is transacted in the ecclesiastical courts." He then concludes as follows: "I should have expected, in this instance at least, on Mr. M.'s own principles, his commendation rather than his censure,"§ Not to enquire how far the arguments of Dr. S. are consistent and admissible, with respect to the use of excommunication in testamentary business, and not to shew how far he injures his own cause in his attempts to serve it,** it is sufficient for my purpose to remark, that there

* Pp. 420—429.

† Hoadly's *Preservative*. See above p. 419.

‡ See *Forma Excom.* Sparrow's *Collect.* p. 241.

§ P. 298.

** What Dr. S. proposes is, that instead of the ecclesiastical courts excommunicating persons in cases of contempt, and then certifying such contempt to the civil court, praying for its protection, as is the case at present, the former should, in the first instance, require from the sheriff, or a justice of peace the imprisonment of the party. But the effect of this change would

are other causes of a more important nature than testamentary business, which belong to the ecclesiastical courts, and in which "excommunication is the instrument by which the ecclesiastical jurisdiction is to assert its authority. Such, for example, are all cases of heresy, schism, and many cases of defamation and other immoralities. Now the general assertion of my opponent equally condemns the use of excommunication in these spiritual cases, as in those others of a temporal nature. It is also to be observed, that throughout the whole laboured defence which he sets up for himself on this point, he carefully avoids attributing any one of those spiritual effects to excommunication, which the terms of it imply. The truth is, this caution is necessary to the very essence of his system; for he is well aware that the least concession of this nature, or the smallest approach on his part to the doctrine of the Church of England, and of all Christian churches, with respect to the proper effects of the censure in question, would have furnished me with the means of confuting out of his own mouth a considerable portion of his three principal publications, of exposing the sophistry of those discourses on church authority, which he extols "for a precision of thought, and correctness of reasoning almost peculiar

be to transform at once the ecclesiastical into a civil court, which would imply a conviction, that the former ought to be abolished as superfluous. In the conclusion of his note Dr. S. says, "I thought I had been shewing my respect to religion, when I expressed my opinion, that it ought not to be *prostituted* to such purposes." What is this intimation on the part of Dr. S. but proclaiming to the world, that he is the instrument of *prostituting religion* as often as he is forced to pronounce sentence of excommunication in the court over which he presides? For he has before told us, that "the necessity will sometimes occur when this sentence must be employed." Far however from me is such language, as likewise the opinions connected with it. On the contrary, I can demonstrate that religion is not degraded, but rather honoured by being left to exercise its proper jurisdiction, even in testamentary concerns. Thus after defending the Church of England against Dr. S. I am now reduced to the necessity of defending Dr. S. against himself!

to the author of them,"* and of laying in the dust before his face, without the possibility of his raising a hand to defend it, the whole fabric of HOADLYISM.]

SUPPLEMENT.

[MY opponent having proved himself to be so utterly unprovided with arguments to support the charges which he has brought against Catholics in REFLECTIONS ON POPERY, and even to defend his own favourite system of theology, endeavours, like Hannibal, to shift the seat of war into the country of his enemy. With this view he chooses to make a publick attack upon me for the part which I acted in the concerns of the Catholic body, ten years ago, with respect to the act of parliament then passed for their relief. He does not even pretend to connect this long episode, consisting of no less than 17 octavo pages, with any part of the controversy that has hitherto subsisted between us. All that he says, by way of accounting for the introduction of this extraneous matter, is, that he has^{*} been favoured with some publications and papers relative to it.[†] That I should have enemies even amongst Catholics I can readily believe, and I shall not be surprised if the same person, who at the period alluded to, offered a large sum of money for a bravo to beat me, should now be found to have furnished my adversary with papers to discredit the conduct which I then held. I am also well aware that Dr. S. has met with countenance and encouragement, both public and private, from certain other real or supposed members of the ancient church, in the attack which he has made upon her in common with me. But it is proper he should be informed that the leader of this band, Dr. Geddes, who pays him so many high flown compliments at my expence, in a late

* P. 50, note 1.

† Appendix to Reflections, 2d ed. p. 362.

work which, by an *antiphrasis*,* he calls a **MODEST APOLOGY FOR THE ROMAN CATHOLICS OF BRITAIN**, is not admitted in that body to be Catholic,† and that in the eye of the law he is not considered even as a Christian;‡ that the Rev. Joseph Be-rrington, who returned him public thanks in the Gentleman's Magazine§ for his Reflections on Popery, and who adopted a great part of them as his own, has since, in consequence of that measure, by a printed paper, dated Feb. 13, 1801, which is now in the hands of the Catholic clergy, "submitted all his religious opinions and writings to the judgement of the apostolical see of Rome, revoking and condemning every sentence and passage in them contrary to, or derogatory from the definitions and decisions of the general councils, Roman pontiffs, and orthodox fathers, professing himself sorry for the offence and scandal which these have caused, and promising to avoid the same in future;" lastly, that some other gentlemen, who have privately written to him in an adulatory style, and endeavoured to purchase his favour by sacrificing my reputation, and even that of their religion, have since apologized to me for their conduct, and implicitly owned themselves to have meddled in business which they did not understand.

* An antiphrasis is a figure of speech by which a thing some times receives its denomination from an opposite quality to that which it possesses: as *Lucus* is so called *a non Lucendo* and *Parca quod minime Parcant*. Certainly a more indecent satire upon the Catholic religion never was published than this pretended *Modest Apology* for it. The infidel author can have no other motive for pretending to belong to that communion, than in order to betray it into the hands of its enemies.

† Not only the grand work of Dr. G. his Translation of the Bible is censured by the Catholic bishops, but he himself also is excluded from all active and passive use of the sacraments.—It appears from the Acts of the French Constitutional Clergy, as they term themselves, which are now in print, that those time-serving hirelings boast of Dr. G. as of an illustrious proselyte to their party.

‡ This opinion is conformable to 9 and 10 of W. c. 32,—which condemns those persons as apostates who impugn the divine inspiration of the Holy Scriptures.

§ See *Gent. Mag.* for August, p. 653.

My adversary enters upon this subject with a narrative of the difference that took place amongst the Catholics at the passing of the act for their relief, concerning the oath that was to be taken, in order to entitle themselves to the benefit of it. The whole of this account however is so erroneous and confused, for want of proper information on the subject, that it would require a considerable volume to correct its errors, and to supply its deficiencies which volume I am by no means disposed to write, as it is with regret I so much as mention a subject, that is at present quite exhausted and antiquated. It is clearly seen that the writer's object in relating these differences is, if possible, to renew and perpetuate them for the mutual ruin of the two parties formerly concerned in them. This policy is conformable to the maxim of his favourite author Machiavelli: *Divide et impera*. He accordingly flatters one set of Catholics, extolling "the clearness and ability with which their letters are drawn up,"* the "fairness of their claim to be treated as good and faithful subjects of our government,"† as likewise the "change in their opinion, by which," as he insidiously pretends, "from a sect hostile and dangerous to government, they have appeared no longer dangerous."‡ In the same proportion he degrades the other Catholics, who in 1791 differed from the former declaring their opposition to a certain deed, called the Protestation, to have arisen "from a remnant of old prejudices which have ever made it so difficult to reconcile the religious principles of the Church of Rome with the just claims of civil government for its own security, and with the claims of exclusive obedience from its subjects."§ He concludes with the following extraordinary assertion. "The principles which I have combated in the foregoing LETTERS are not those of the Protestant Catholics but of such as dissent from the terms, or depart from the spirit of the Pro-

* Append. p. 265.

† Ibid, p. 276.

‡ Reflect. p. 256.

§ P. 267.

testation.”* Notwithstanding I positively refuse to enter again into the particulars of a dispute, which I have heretofore discussed with writers much better qualified to treat of it than Dr. S. yet I will here, in a very few words, put down his insidious attempt to revive it.

With respect to the natural and acquired abilities, as likewise the sentiments of fidelity, loyalty, and honour of the gentlemen alluded to, I am ready to bear as high and what I trust will pass for as sincere a testimony as that of Dr. S. after having laboured through a voluminous controversy, in order to vindicate their religious opinions and their virtuous ancestors from his misrepresentations. As to the “change of opinions” that Dr. S. ascribes to these personages, in consequence of which he asserts, that he does “not combat them in his REFLECTIONS ON POPERY,” I answer, that they themselves have constantly denied this imputation in those publications which he quotes; secondly, that this is still more effectually denied by the heroical sacrifices which they continue to make to their religion; and lastly, that a reference to the contents of Dr. S’s Letters will determine the truth or falsehood of what he here asserts. Is it then true that the Catholics in question exclude the spiritual authority of the bishop of Rome, which Dr. S. labours to prove a “a solecism in politics?” Do they with him condemn the observance of the evangelical counsels, fasting, abstinence, &c. as superstitious? Do they admit that persecution is either a principle or a corollary of the Catholic creed? Do they confess that their religious ancestors, who refused to permit the tyrannic Tudors, or the puritanical parliaments of the Stuarts to dictate to them a new code of religion, were deserving of all the persecuting statutes that were enacted against them on this account? Do they, in short, subscribe to the position which Dr. S. so pertinaciously defends, namely that the following doctrines remain fixed upon the Church of Rome, by virtue of

* P. 277.

her own principles ; “ to propagate religion by slaughter and devastation, to consider the blackest crimes sanctified by this end, to offer pardons and indulgencies for exempting men from moral obligations ?” — Do they, I say, subscribe to all this, even with the adulatory exception which he is pleased to make in their favour, by virtue of which he describes them as acting not “ from the principles of their religion, but from their own reason and natural sense of things ?” * So transparent is the veil with which Dr. S. covers his designs !

To speak now of that other description of Catholics, as it existed in 1791, whose civil principles it suits the purpose of Dr. S. to asperse ; it is true that their dislike of the instrument of Protestation, as it is called, and their opposition to the first proposed oath, which was founded upon it, proceeded from “ old prejudices in opposition to the just demands of civil government for its own security ?” Is it probable that “ the legislature would shew a disposition to concede to scruples” † connected with such prejudices, according to the account of Dr. S ? The idea is revolting. Dr. S. should have informed himself, by carefully perusing the publications of the Catholics whom he censures, with respect to the theological grounds on which their scruples rested, and he should have attended to the result of the parliamentary investigation of this matter that took place, before he undertook to pronounce upon it. I shall pass over the sentiments on this subject, which fell from the attorney-general, now the lord chief baron, from Messrs. Burke, Pitt, and other members of the lower house, and in the upper house, from the duke of Leeds, and the lords Grenville, Rawdon, &c. In order to confine myself to part of the speech of the learned and judicious prelate, who, on every question which comes before that illustrious assembly, is invariably found the advocate of humanity, the guardian of morality, and the firm supporter of the doctrine and ministry of the Church of

* Pp. 11, 12.

† P. 266.

England : his words are these : " My Lords, I must observe that the gentlemen of the Catholic committee, and the party that acts with them who scruple no part of this oath, (grounded on the protestation) declare that they, equally with the scrupulous party, maintain the Pope's spiritual supremacy. They are shocked that the denial of it should be imputed to them." On the other hand, " those Roman Catholics who scruple this oath, are ready and desirous to give their engagements to the constitution and government in the most explicit and unequivocal terms. They think themselves bound by an oath which they have already taken, and which they are willing to strengthen, to defend to the utmost of their power the civil and ecclesiastical establishment of the country, though all the Catholic powers, with the Pope at their head, were to levy war in order to establish their religion—I will go no farther at present, I will only say in general, that there are parts of this oath which I myself would refuse to take."* It must be allowed that these authoritative accounts of the unfortunate disunion in question are widely different from that of Dr. S. and we are not surprised, after having heard them, at the line of conduct which the legislature thought proper to adopt with respect to that misunderstanding.

I shall make as short as possible of the part in the APPENDIX which relates to my personal conduct on the aforesaid occasion, though it was evidently for the purpose of depreciating this in the eyes of the public that my opponent has entered upon the present subject. On the credit of a paper, which was privately circulating during the heat of our contests, and which was afterwards unwarily published in what is called *The Third Blue Book*,† he charges me with having palmed falsehood upon the members of parliament in a hand-bill which I caused to be distributed

* See the speech of the bishop of St. David's, now bishop of St. Asaph, which is published at full length in the *Gent. Mag.* for September, 1791, p. 826—831, and republished by J. P. Coghlan.

† Appendix to BB. 111, n. vii.

amongst them, when I asserted, that those, in whose concerns I acted, were taken by surprise at the introduction into that honourable assembly of the oath which they objected to, of which point, after all, they themselves must be allowed to be the only competent judges. Secondly, he accuses me of equal falsehood when I declared, that, in opposing the said form of oath, and the new title of **PROTESTING CATHOLIC DISSENTERS**, "I spoke the sense of the Roman Catholic clergy in general, and of many thousands of his majesty's other loyal subjects, no less than my own."* In opposition to this assertion, Dr. S. maintains, from the aforesaid paper, that when I published this I had no commission to act for any person whomsoever, and that even after I was questioned on the subject of my authority, I could only procure a deputation from three nameless individuals, who themselves had no claim to transact business in the name of any other Catholic. Little aware is Dr. S. what a splendid monument he is here labouring to erect to my name. In fact, the oath in question being universally exploded, and the title of *Protesting Catholic Dissenters* being held in the utmost execration, could he persuade the Catholics of this and the future ages, that I had been singular in my opposition to them, and that, without support or countenance from any other person whomsoever, I had rushed into parliament, and had singly preserved to them their former oath of allegiance and their unalterable family name, what a panegyric would not this form at once of my orthodoxy, discernment, and intrepidity! Thus much is incontestibly evident, that to the happy change in the original plan of the act, by whatever means Providence effected it, our native Catholics are indebted for their escape from an impending schism, and the conscientious exiles from the Continent owe their safety from inevitable destruction. For there is not one of those virtuous sufferers, who would not have preferred the guillotine in his own country, to the oath and title that, without such a change, he must have taken

* See Facts relating to the Contest, p. 3. Coghlan.

in this, in order to avail himself of its proffered bounties. The fact however is, I am by no means entitled to such high praise. I was but the humble instrument of other more dignified persons in this great work.—Those three nameless individuals, alluded to above, were the three ecclesiastical superiors of the English catholics, to whom the generality of them looked up for settling the terms of that profession of their faith, which government required them as the condition of its favours. These superiors signed a formal deputation in my favour, as soon as any question was raised upon that head, by the terms of which they declared me to be their agent, not only in the measures which I shall take, but also in those which I had already taken respecting the act of parliament then pending. As to the unimportant question concerning the authenticity of the instrument of Protestation at the Museum, namely, whether it be the original, or only a copy, which I should never have taken up, if I had not been formally called upon to do so, by a printed challenge that was sent to me concerning it, I shall satisfy myself with saying, that as true as are the axioms of Euclid, so true is it that the original Protestation is not now in the library of Russel-street. We have in our hands printed copies of the said original, which are certified to be exactly conformable to the original as it existed in 1789, and which are the same that most persons subscribed their names to. Now the instrument in the Museum differs from this in a variety of particulars, that are distinctly pointed out in the pamphlet which I printed on the occasion, as Dr. S. may at any time convince himself, if he will take the trouble necessary for this purpose.—*Quæ non sunt equalia uni tertio, ea non sunt equalia inter se. Atqui, &c. Ergo, &c.* In the whole of this transaction I am very far from imputing any blame to the Committee. Neither they, nor even the Cisalpine Club, entertained a suspicion of the accident by which some copy or other happened to supplant the original Protestation at the Museum, until I was called upon to demonstrate the fact. Nor do I know indeed that any other person is to blame in

this affair, as I have proved that the Protestation passed through a great many hands for the purposes of being signed and printed; that it was twice taken to pieces, and repeatedly copied both in manuscript and in print.*

From this compendious statement Dr. S. will see how egregiously he misleads the public, when he describes me, in the above-mentioned transaction, as "an individual influenced by old prejudices which have taken deep root."† Henceforward I am confident he will be more careful what private memoirs he adopts, no less than what general Reflections on Popery he publishes. The same caution I think will be observed by other writers who chance to peruse the foregoing letters, and who have a reputation to lose at the same time for morality and for literature.‡ Dr.

* See A Further Report to the Cisalpine Club.

† Append. p. 276.

‡ In this number I cannot include another Reverend Prebendary of Winchester Cathedral, the Conductor of the HAMPSHIRE REPOSITORY, who, however respectable he is as a gentleman, certainly has no reputation to lose as an author.—He seems indeed himself to be at length sensible that he cannot "arrogate" to himself "the character of an antiquary," and he even disclaims "a taste" for the science of one, as being suggested, according to his ideas, "by some congenial demon." Hamp. Repos. p. 133. On the other hand, if we subscribe to the opinion of the late Dr. Wharton, who was an exquisite judge in matters of this nature, though, by his own confession, no judge at all of historical and ecclesiastical antiquities, his pretensions to the title of a polite writer are not better grounded than that of an antiquary. It would indeed be an easy matter to demonstrate the deficiency of the reverend gentleman upon every point he has written upon, both as to matter and manner, whether in prose or in verse, by an actual review of the two volumes of his Repository, and of his Occasional Sermons and Poems, and to confirm such an opinion of them by the authority of authors of real character, were I animated with that spirit of animosity against him, which he betrays against me. But as I confined myself, in the first edition of this work, to a refutation of what he had advanced concerning the first volume of my HISTORY OF WINCHESTER, so on the present occasion I shall confine myself within still narrower bounds; for I shall not even take notice of his criticisms on my second volume of the said History, which have lately appeared,

S. however taking it for granted, that I stood alone in the aforesaid transaction, and that the motives of my conduct were such as he describes them to have been,

but shall content myself with answering the personal charges that he has now raked together against me.

The reverend gentleman comes forward, in the character of the CONDUCTOR of the Hampshire Repository, with a formal invective against me, which occupies eleven close octavo pages (besides about twenty more that are employed in reviewing some of my publications.) He begins with bitterly complaining that I have confounded him, the conductor with his subordinate reviewer, and thereby charged him with the gross errors and absurdities contained in the aforesaid review, which I have had occasion to expose. The truth is, the public never heard before now of this distinction of personages, as it is here explained; and after having heard of it, they will still very justly consider the conductor as accountable for the truth and propriety of every article which appears in his work. They will even consider him as the author of it, where there is no evidence, signature, or reference, to point out a different writer. For my own part, I did not mention any name, nor so much as allude to any particular person, in the answer which I made to the strictures in the Hampshire Repository, but addressed my Zoilus, whoever he might be, under the appellation of the HAMPSHIRE CRITIC. Nevertheless, if I must tell my real opinion of the matter, I did think, and I do think still, that those interminable and inexplicable periods, which mark many parts of the said strictures, could come from no other pen than that of the Reverend conductor.

I shall make no farther answer to the ridiculous charge of my having ascribed the old duodecimo History of Winchester to Mr. Wavel, nor to that of my having several years ago questioned the authenticity of a certain instrument in the Museum, as I have already discussed those points with gentlemen who understand them much better than present my adversary does. I shall barely remark, that the latter is guilty of a shameful calumny when he asserts that I charged "the Catholic Committee with having falsified" that instrument. He next revives the story of Meffre, a revolutionary French priest, who, after various religious changes, and repeated censures from the Catholic prelates for his improper and irreligious behaviour, was received by the reverend gentlemen, into the established communion, and celebrated by him, in twenty columns of close print, as an edifying convert, who did infinite credit to it. The points here alluded to I fully proved in the Appendix to my first edition of the present work; and it is plain that I have excited the bile of my opponent in the same proportion as he feels

winds up his Supplement with imputations upon my sincerity and loyalty, which would justify much warmer language than I have used, or shall here use against

himself unable to refute my statement of them. Indeed he says, referring to this account, "The only point in which we (the conductor and myself) seem personally at issue together is the circumstance under which I opened and read the bishop of St. Pol de Leon's letter sent to me, that is, whether thinking or not thinking it was meant for me," p. 136. It will appear upon referring to the first volume of the repository, p. 133, that the letter of the French bishop, addressed to a familiar friend of his, a French priest of the name of Ponthus then resident at the King's-house, which the reverend gentleman opened, read, and even answered under pretence of his really and *bona fide* conceiving it to be intended for him, relates to quite a different business, viz. that of Mons. Couvet. So confused are his ideas as well as his language on the subjects that he writes upon! However, as he has mentioned this matter, I shall briefly observe, that even should he succeed in working up our credulity, by his solemn declarations, to believe, that neither from the directions of the letter, nor from the familiar style of it, nor from the singular contents of it, nor from the order to pay money contained in it, he once suspected that the letter was not written to him, the most important circumstance of all will yet remain for him to explain, namely his publishing in the Hampshire Repository the private correspondence of other persons, which had fallen into his hands, without their permission. If it be thought so indecent to pry into other people's secrets, what idea must we form of communicating them to the public!

Little more remains to be said concerning the case of the above-mentioned Couvet, or concerning a similar case of Mons. Fleury, which has more recently occurred, after the discussion which the former has undergone in my Appendix, and the latter in the House of Commons, on the 23d of June, 1800. Not all the indignation which the reverend gentleman expresses at the very mention of bigotry and intolerance can clear the conduct which he boasts of having held with respect to those pious men, from the said charges. All that can be collected from his indignant language on these subjects is, that we are frequently such strangers to what passes in our own bosoms, as to hate most, in theory, the vices which are predominant in them.—Not, however, to deprive the gentleman of the advantage of his defence, I must mention, that he urges his hospitality to several of the emigrant clergy whom he frequently receives at his table, and his having published in his Repository a long poem concerning them, (so long indeed that I never met with any person who had read to the end of it) called **THE KING'S**

him. "Such persons," he says, (namely those who are supposed to be under the old prejudices disclaimed in the Protestation) "excite suspicions of their gene-

HOUSE. I admit the truth of both these particulars, and I am happy to add, as the circumstances of these poor good men induce them to prefer *solid pudding to empty praise*, there is every reason to believe that his dinners are much better than his verses. I must here mention, that in the conclusion of this article the reverend gentleman brings forward a private history, which under all the circumstances, I should have thought he wished to continue so, though the obvious intent of it is to transfer the character of a persecutor from his own shoulders to mine. Some years ago, at a time when it was very justly suspected that the French Directory was not without a spy in the city of Winchester, a lay emigrant made his appearance there who though "not justly recommended," and the gentleman admits, "was received and entertained" by him "beyond his merits." Without entering into farther particulars of this business, it is sufficient to say, that certain very decent people, with whom this foreigner lodged and familiarly conversed, declared that he made use of the most treasonable language and threats; and seeing some mathematical figures amongst his papers, they expressed an apprehension that these might be plans of English fortifications for the use of the French army, which then threatened an invasion. These particulars coming to my knowledge from a very respectable quarter, I disregarded the latter part of them, because I knew the relaters of it were not judges of mathematics; but with respect to the former part I conceived myself bound, by my oath of allegiance, to lay them before some intelligent and trusty magistrate, because I knew the accusers to have a great share both of good sense and honesty. The magistrate whom I preferred for the aforesaid purpose was Dr. S. who, in conclusion, told me, that as the party accused was under the protection of the reverend gentleman, he should lay the whole business before him, and leave him to settle it. In short, having performed my duty, I here left the affair, and I had utterly lost sight of it, when this gentleman informed the world in his Repository, that my communications were regularly laid before him, and that he refused to grant a warrant against his client, though he owns "he was ashamed of him." In my opinion, however, the question was not so much about the propriety of a warrant against the party, as of an inquiry whether he were or were not of that description of persons against whom the Alien Act was framed? But he tells us, that he did examine the pretended hieroglyphics, and verified that they were drawn out of Euclid. The truth however is, my information, delivered to Dr. S. did not regard

ral sincerity. The public is not satisfied with *professions*, if it ever sees them contradicted by facts ; and it is not enough for an author like Mr. M. to disclaim,

hieroglyphics at all, but certain treasonable speeches and threats of the most daring kind; the reality of which is the more probable; as the person accused, by the gentleman's own account, "turned out to be an impostor." See Repository, p. 143.

To pass over the other charges or insinuations brought against me in this invective ; I shall confine myself to that which regards the Javese Indians, whom I converted and baptised five years ago. These poor savages, who were brought from the Cape of Good Hope in the Dutch fleet captured by lord Keith, being convicted of the murder of one of their companions, it was thought a pity by religious persons of all communions, that they should be left to die without at least some efforts to convert them, and prepare them for their awful change. The worthy ordinary had great difficulties to overcome in undertaking such a charge, as the prisoners understood no European language, and as his time was otherwise taken up in attending another wretch who was to suffer at the same time with them. In short, no other person presenting himself, I begged leave to visit the convicts and was thanked for my offer and services by the respectable gentleman who superintended the execution. I passed a great deal of time with them at different intervals during the three days that they survived. At first I took with me a French missionary who had preached the gospel in China and other parts of the East Indies, but I soon found that I could proceed much faster and better in my undertaking, by means of a conventional language, settled amongst ourselves, consisting chiefly of signs, with a few English words that I introduced then by the help of an interpreter. If the gentleman cannot comprehend how this could be effected, I refer him to the experience of the circumnavigators of the globe. They will tell him how soon the wildest savages, by the help of conventional signs, may be made to understand all matters of commerce, treaties, and other things the most abstruse. I found the poor creatures not destitute of the idea of a Supreme Being, and it was my business to strengthen and enlarge that idea, to suggest suitable acts of homage to him, with those of contrition for having offended him, particularly by the murder for which they were about to suffer. I proceeded to insinuate such ideas concerning the incarnation and death of Christ for us, as even civilized Christians are capable of forming, and likewise concerning the necessity and effects of baptism, which, in conclusion, they received at my hands with a visible comfort and devotion, that few persons, except the man who officiated as

on particular occasions, and in particular passages of an historical work, whatever is offensive to the government and hostile to the constitution of his country, or

their sponsor and myself, can form an idea of. When they were conducted to execution, the circumstances of which I took care to explain to them, that they might know how to behave themselves under them, I put into the hands of each of them a little print of Christ dying on the cross, not as the object of their idolatry, according to the charitable interpretation of the gentleman, but as the memorial of their Redeemer and model, whom they had been well instructed to adore in the highest heavens. In fact, St. Augustine calls pictures the books of the unlearned. To conclude, these poor Indians, after repeating their various devotional acts, which I have said were chiefly marked by gestures rather than words, died with a resignation and devotion, that has seldom been exceeded by any persons whomsoever in their situation. And this now is the scene which the reverend gentleman makes the subject of his violent declamation and indecent ridicule, saying that it was "a mockery of religion and a disgrace of the police." P. 140. Did he then wish these poor unenlightened and unbaptized wretches to die in their paganism? If, on the other hand, he was conscious of possessing a more refined species of metaphysics for communicating ideas, as well as a more pure Christianity, than that which I was master of, why did not he offer his ministerial services? He knows very well that in this case he must have supplanted me. It would be real matter of surprise that he should forget himself, as a clergyman, to such a degree as to ridicule so important and so awful a transaction, if he had not expressly informed us of his earnest desire "to turn the laugh against me" for having laid open the history and character of Meffre. The same circumstance will account for his forgetting himself, as a gentleman, on this occasion, by descending to the scurrility of calling names, as when he terms me "a moving mountebank, a captain of salvation, a fanatic fugleman," &c. But no circumstance at all, that I am acquainted with can account for the bold confidence with which he tells the most palpable untruths, such as can be disproved by public records and the ocular testimony of thousands. Thus "he pledges himself, as an eye-witness of the pitiable procession, and as having credibly heard the remainder," for the truth of the following particulars, amongst others equally false, viz. that the convict Indians were "three" in number; whereas the records of the courts of justice and of the gaol will prove that they were *four*, independently of a soldier who was executed with them for a different crime. He signifies that I was in the cart with the convicts, "*rheda componitur una*;" whereas I rode on horseback at some distance behind them. Final-

even to give a solemn pledge of his fidelity to it, if the general tenor of such a work be an apology for opinions the most offensive, and a defence of acts the

ly, he positively declares that I "bore aloft literally the sign of the cross, one of the painted images of the Jews," (if any one knows what that is) "rather than the pure emblem of the Christians;" whereas first and last I bore nothing about me but the whip with which I rode. Who, after this, will give the conductor credit for such particulars as he reports in his Repository upon other evidence, when they find they cannot trust him for those which he professes to relate from the testimony of his own eye sight?

The reverend gentleman, having laid aside his character of Conductor, once more assumes that of the Reviewer, in order to decide on the merits of my controversy with Dr. S. (whom he lashes equally with myself) and of some of my other publications. My reason for mentioning this matter, is not by way of entering into any further critical discussion with him, which I have positively disclaimed, but barely of submitting to persons who are acquainted with his style, whether it is possible for any writer except the Conductor to have penned the following sentence, which is the most important one in the whole review? "We are sorry to observe several passages in Mr. M's reply display great deficiency of temper, however strong his arguments, or correct his quotations may be in some few instances, especially in the question between Protestant high and low church, rather than between Protestant and Popish church; between Hoadly and Horsley, rather than between them both and Papists; to which former partial, from the latter general case, Mr. M. has partly succeeded in diverting the controversy: and if any Protestant in, or out of parliament, have in any instance inconsiderately and intemperately thought, or spoken in favour of Mr. M, as compared with Dr. S. we are persuaded it must be on the question being thus artfully or ignorantly perverted." Hampshire Repository, Criticisms, p. 145. When I read these and similar sentences, I cannot help exclaiming:—*How happy is it for me that I am not constrained to translate the works of this writer! For as to the task of reasoning with him, this would exceed all the power of human patience.*

My reverend opponent takes his leave of me with the following flowers of speech, culled with choice care, and assorted with artful alliteration; In the compass of six lines he calls me "literary salamander,"—"Catholic camelion,"—"polemical Proteus,"—and "pertinacious Papist." These, I own, are arguments which I am equally unable to answer as a scholar, and to retort as a gentleman. I therefore leave them to produce their proper effect on the mind of the intelligent reader.

most unconstitutional ** With respect to the accusation of *apologising for offensive opinions*, by which I understand *refuting dangerous errors and eradicating vulgar prejudices*, I disdain to repel it. It is the constant subject of my indignation and complaint, that the generality of those persons whom God has blessed with talents to enlighten their fellow-creatures, make use of them for quite the opposite purpose. Most writers, particularly divines, historians, poets, and dramatists, flatter the prevailing illusions and favourite passions of their cotemporaries, instead of correcting them, and the question that is ever uppermost in their minds is: *Will this be approved of? Not, Is this true?* Thus they consult their own interest and popularity rather than the information and improvement of the readers. For my part I wish no longer to hold the pen than I can be of some benefit to those who happen to dip into my writings, and I profess to regard infinitely more the opinion they will have of my lessons, when we shall meet again beyond the grave, than that which they may form of them during the present delusive scene. The other part of my adversary's charge, affecting my social and civil character. I do most emphatically protest against; and I maintain that I have in the present work, demonstratively refuted all and every one of the arguments and insinuations which he has brought in support of it and that I have every where maintained the constitutional principles of the state, and even the grand fundamental doctrines of the established church. It is equally notorious, on the other hand, that Dr. S. has not explained some very alarming positions with respect to civil government, which I have extracted from his publications,† and that he has not even attempted to reconcile his theological system with the essential doctrines of the Church of England or with the very ground-work of Christianity, after being challenged to the field by me on these important points. The truth is. he is conscious that neither his abilities, nor those of any other man are equal to the aforesaid task.

* P. 277.

† Pp. 381, 382, 383, 384.

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